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History

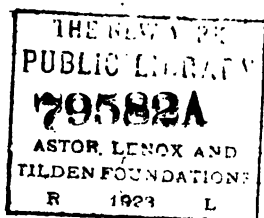
HISTORY
OF THE
REVOLUTION OF THE 18th FRUCTIDOR,
(SEPTEMBER 4th, 1797),
AND OF THE
DÉPORTATIONS TO GUIANA,
IN CONSEQUENCE
OF THAT REVOLUTION.

CONTAINING

1. **REPLY** of L. N. M. CARNOT, Citizen of France, one of the Founders of the Republic, and Constitutional Member of the Executive Directory: to the **RÉPORT** made on the Conspiracy of the 18th Fructidor, by J. Ch. Bailleul: comprising a Variety of important Anecdotes relating to that Revolution.
2. **RAMEL'S NARRATIVE** of the Deportation to Cayenne of Barthélemy, Pichegru, Willot, Marbois, La Rue, Ramel, &c. &c. in Consequence of the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor.
3. **SECRET ANECDOTES** of the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor, and **NEW MEMOIRS** of the Persons deported to Guiana. Written by themselves.
4. **NARRATIVE** of the **DÉPORTATION TO CAYENNE**, and Shipwreck on the Coast of Scotland, of J. J. JOB AIMÉ, written by himself: with Observations on the present State of that Colony, and of the Negroes; and an Account of the Situation of the Deported Persons at the Time of his Escape.

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REPLY
OF
L. N. M. CARNOT,
Esq. Esq.

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REPLY
OF
L. N. M. CARNOT,
CITIZEN OF FRANCE,

ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE REPUBLIC,
AND CONSTITUTIONAL MEMBER OF
THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY:

TO THE
REPORT made on the CONSPIRACY of the 18th Fructidor.
5th Year, by J. CH. BAILLEUL, in the
Name of the Select Committee.

THIRD EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. WRIGHT, OPPOSITE OLD BOND-
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1799.

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INTRODUCTION.

IT is not easy to discover the motive which could have led to the publication of the following work ; a work which, when we consider the situation of the Author, whether with a view to the ambitious prospects which he may be supposed still to entertain, or to that regard for character which is never wholly abandoned by the most profligate of mankind, must appear equally prejudicial to his interests and to his reputation.

Under the form of a Reply to the Calumnies (for such they appear to be) alledged against him by the Directorial Reporter, Bailleul, the Author has contrived to give a general view of his political Character and Opinions, and an Apology (or, more properly speaking, a Justification, for such the Author seems to consider it) of his Principles and Conduct during the Revolution. And this Apology, including an arrogant assumption of merit, from the murder of his sovereign, and confining his whole exculpation of the innumerable murders committed in his own name and under his own authority to a slight assertion of a disapprobation expressed in the presence of Robespierre and his other colleagues—This apology, devoting its Author to infamy (in the opinion of all those, by whom his conduct may be estimated according to the ancient and immutable principles of morality), is at the same time so contrived, that, of the three parties existing in France, the Royalists, the Jacobins, and the Directory, it is calculated

... ..

to irritate and exasperate every one; — the Directors, as they are personally, and virulently, and (what is still more unpardonable) justly denounced to the world as the enemies of peace and the oppressors of mankind ;— the Royalists, of course ;—and the Jacobins, as their former conspiracies are cited, and a merit assumed from having assisted in their suppression.

The publication of such a work, however, though a little extraordinary, is not wholly unaccountable. That Sully and Clarendon, men whose lives were devoted not to any selfish or sensual purposes, but to the benefit and improvement of mankind ; that such men should have thought a portion of their leisure usefully occupied, in accounting to mankind for the employment of their time and the application of their talents — this is not extraordinary. They felt no embarrassment, no anxiety for the arrangement of a specious narrative, no necessity for concealment of the truth or for

an artful insinuation of falsehood ; to recollect and record the transactions of a meritorious and honourable life was in itself no unpleasing duty ; and they were conscious that the purposes for which alone they existed would extend themselves, and be perpetuated with the influence of their example.

But there are other writers of a very different character, men whose lives have been pernicious or useless to society ; who have, nevertheless, conceived it important that posterity should be acquainted with their principles, such as they were, and with the course of their transactions and intrigues. This rage for perpetuating the portraiture of mental deformity has been at all times remarkably prevalent in France ; and the immense collection of French memoirs presents us with a series of these self-accusers unexampled in the literature of any other country.

The passions, by which these writers must have been actuated, like all others, seem to

have gained new force and activity from the events of the Revolution. The restlessness attendant upon involuntary retirement, that impatience of silence and obscurity which embitters the exile or secession of a banished or abdicating statesman, the *besoin de faire parler de soi*, have been felt in their full force by all the successive victims whom ambition has raised to notice for an instant and then replunged in their original obscurity. It is to these passions that we are indebted for almost all we know of the Revolution; for the Memoirs of GARAT, and ROLAND, and DUMOURIER; the Narratives of LOUVET, and RIOUFFE; and the Apologies of NECKAR, and of FOUQUIER TINVILLE,

This last (a worthy magistrate, and president of the Revolutionary Tribunal under the direction of that committee of which CARNOT was a member) confines his justification to the following metaphorical assertion, "*that his tender heart had expanded*

like a flower at the first dawning of the Revolution ;" and he very fairly confesses, that since that time he had been misled by his zeal ; and that, in point of *murder*, he is apprehensive he may have carried things a little farther than was necessary, or indeed perhaps altogether justifiable.

The Apology offered by his principal, the Ex-director, is not quite so modest ; he takes upon him to reproach the world in general, for their ignorance as to what used to pass in the Committees of Public Safety — "*It is not sufficiently known (says he) that I used to reproach ROBESPIERRE for his unnecessary cruelties.*" It certainly is not known ; nor will it be credited, upon such assertion ; nor, even if it were true, would it be a sufficient apology, or any thing like it. The Author would certainly have done better, not to have deviated into these extraneous exculpations ; unless, indeed, he could have proved that, by some inexplicable chain of obligation, it had been

originally his duty to become a member of the Committee of Public Safety; and that, once appointed to that sacred trust, he was bound to continue his services, and to retain life at the expence of guilt and infamy. He certainly would have done better to have confined himself to the single thesis which forms the professed subject of his work, namely, to prove that BAILLEUL's accusation of Royalism, and LEPAUX's imputations of Christianity, are unfounded; and that the Author is, in fact, as sound an Atheist and as good a Regicide as heart could wish or Republicanism require. Upon this point he is completely triumphant, and must be admitted, we think, in the opinion of every impartial person, to have left his adversaries without the possibility of a reply.

The next point in discussion is not calculated to inspire much interest; it consists of the simple fact of the Author's having been betrayed and outwitted by his accomplices.

Your rivals having made their push,
 And kick'd you out without remorse,
 Whether it signifies a rush,
 Is the next part of this discourse:

You think yourselves abused and put-on,
 'Tis natural to make a fuss;
 To see it and not care a button,
 Is just as natural for us;

Like people viewing at a distance
 Two persons thrown out of a casement,
 All we can do for your assistance,
 Is to afford you our amazement.

To Citizen Carnot therefore, in return
 for the striking and amusing spectacle,
 which he has displayed on the theatre of the
 Republic, from the time of his original
debut in the character of the Committee-
 man, to the period of his final disappearance
 through the trap-door, like Schillers Fiesco,
 in the last act of the Conspiracy, entangled
 in the skirts of his Directorial Toga, and
 dragged over-board and drowned by his

Republican brethren—in gratitude for the whole of this interesting and surprizing exhibition, we shall offer the humble tribute of our artless and unfeigned astonishment, unmixed with any of those emotions of sympathy, which belong to the province of a different species of the political drama; that drama which, in the downfall of empires and the overthrow of ancient and established governments, displays those characters which Heaven itself surveys with approbation:

A great man struggling with the storms of fate,
And greatly falling with a falling state.

We trust that the nations of Europe, though weakened and subdued, are not yet so debased in spirit and character, that they are prepared to take an interest, and to side as factious partizans with the contending leaders of the Great Nation; that, like the tributary sovereigns of Numidia, or Bithynia, or Egypt, under the old overbearing

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Republic of Rome, they will be proud to rank themselves as Cæsarians or Pompeians, to combat for a choice of oppressors, and discuss and controvert the pretensions of their rival plunderers. We proceed therefore to the only point of view in which the quarrels and altercations of the accomplices in blood and robbery can excite an interest in the minds of honest men—namely, the examination of such facts as may be brought to light in the course of their mutual recriminations; but for these the reader must be referred to the work itself; he will there see that the sacrifice of the Cape and our other conquests in the East, which was attempted to be exacted as a preliminary to negotiation, would have restored them, not to their old masters, and our former allies, the Dutch, but, to our own inveterate rivals, and irreconcilable enemies; after which, or more probably on the first attempt to remonstrate against so scandalous a breach of faith, we should (under every disadvantage) have been driven

again to a renewal of hostilities, of which, in fact, this armistice obtained by an artifice at once so insolent and so fraudulent would only have been a necessary, and not the least efficient part.

With respect to the authenticity of the work, we have no means of forming a judgement but what are equally open to our readers, namely, an attentive examination of the evidence contained in the work itself: considering the circumstances under which it is written, it is hardly to be expected that the Author should come forward to claim and avow his own production; upon the test, therefore, of internal evidence (in our opinion a perfectly satisfactory one), we must be content to form our judgement, unless (which is not improbable) the Directory, who must be the best judges, should think fit to silence all objection, and sanction the authenticity of the work, by employing their usual advocates for its refutation.—In the mean time, their agents in

this country, apprehensive that its contents might be offensive to their patrons and employers, have thought it right, as a measure of precaution, to insert a paragraph in the paper which serves as the usual vehicle of their misrepresentations:—the paragraph too is in their usual and favourite style (a style perfectly familiar to those who have at all attended to the system of falsehood and misrepresentation of which they are the indefatigable propagators), insinuating a falsehood under the flippant affectation of a sort of negligent scepticism—We are told that.—“ It is a curious publication “ if genuine.—It appears to be published “ by the French emigrants, and, true or “ false, it is a captivating title.”—We ourselves profess to be wholly uninformed with respect to the circumstances of the publication; but we are strongly inclined to believe, that if the Author of this paragraph had any information of his own upon the subject (which however we by no means give him credit for), it would be found to

be in direct contradiction to his own insinuation :—we should be farther inclined to suspect, that the writer had not even seen the work, the authenticity of which he is so forward to call in question ; certainly no one who had read it attentively would have attempted to overthrow the credit of its authenticity by so foolish and inapplicable a calumny, as that of its being forged by the emigrants ;—whereas, from the beginning of the book to the end, there is not a single passage to be found, directly or indirectly, favourable to the particular cause of the emigrants, or to their character ; nor is the word “ Emigrant ” (we believe), except in a single passage where Barra^s is accused of protecting them, to be found in the whole book.

But it is impossible to attempt to meet every objection with its particular refutation ;—the internal evidence, to those who are capable of estimating it, will be a stronger and more convincing test of au-

thenticity than ten thousand external proofs; and for those who may be disposed to controvert it, in opposition to their own conviction, the example of the *Letters from Egypt*, the authenticity of which, after being so long, so strenuously, and so impudently, denied in this country, is now finally established by the confession of the French themselves; will, we hope, teach them a little caution, and that they will wait, at least, for the determination of their friends at Paris, before they engage in a dispute, in which those very friends may find it necessary to contradict them.

London,
March 22, 1799. } J

REPLY

OF

L. N. M. CARNOT, &c.

AT length I have received a copy of the Report of Baillieu on the Conspiracy of Fructidor, and have eagerly examined whether any thing it contained concerned me personally. I there found, that the committee had honoured me with particular attention, and that it had recorded my supposed delinquencies in about twelve lines of text, and forty-five of notes.

I know not whether, in the remainder of the Report, it adheres as strictly to the truth as in that part of which I am the subject; but, I

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set out by declaring, and shall presently demonstrate, that this part of the Report is one continued tissue of abominable impostures ; that there is not a single word in it which does not bear the stamp of premeditated falsehood, and of the most flagrant perfidy.

When a committee is appointed by the Legislative Body to prepare an authentic Report relative to an event which that committee itself has contributed to produce ; when, after six months of research, it announces that at length it has collected all the facts ; and when, after the enumeration of all it considers as merely probable, it declares (page 26, note) that *all the remainder of the Report is confirmed by official documents deposited in the hands of the ministers* ; when this, I say, is the case, and yet the subsequent part of the Report contains a series of facts which are not supported by any official document whatever ; when, on the contrary, there exist innumerable official papers which give the lie to them all, which radically overturn and destroy them ; then, I say, that not only this reporter is infamous

himself, but all those who have participated in this work of iniquity.

Bailleul, dressed like a *Chouan*, and exercising the trade of a *Chouan* in the time of the National Convention, is suddenly become a high-flown patriot; that is, according to the new acceptation of the word, a man servilely devoted to the Executive Directory; desirous that the Legislative Body should be reduced to a mere *Chancellerie*, the blind instrument to register the supreme orders of this absolute master; to expel those whom it is commanded to expel by the Directory; to proscribe those whom it is commanded to proscribe; applauding its violences, and sacrificing to its caprice and avidity the labours, the liberty, the honour, and the life, of every citizen.

What has induced Bailleul to rush into this new career?—doubtless the promise of an embassy, or of some other important post. But Bailleul and his co-adjutors will learn, that the Directory promise much, while they perform

little. He, as well as his associates, will find, that servility and meanness, in the end, always receive their just reward—the contempt of those whom they serve.

Such are the republicans of the present day! the patriots *par excellence*! while the man, who chooses rather to ruin himself than exceed the bounds of the Constitution, is stigmatized as a royalist; the man, who voted for the death of the King, who has made war on Kings, who has contributed to the humiliation of all Kings, this man is a royalist! This, forsooth, is evident; *we do not attempt* (says Bailleul, p. 2) *to prove the existence of light.*

The great principle once established, the train of argument to be adopted by the reporter becomes perfectly easy. He has no occasion to *attempt to prove*; it is enough for him to state facts; and as St. Just, when accusing his colleagues in the tribune of the National Convention, said, “*the documents are in the hands of the committee;*” so Bailleul, accusing his col-

leagues in the tribune of the Council of Five Hundred, says, *the documents are in the hands of the ministers.*

‘ *Your committee (adds he, p. 2) would have but imperfectly conceived your wishes, had they directed their attention to adduce proofs or furnish justifications.*’

Excellent, Citizen Bailleul ! it is easy to perceive the true meaning of this declaration. I grant that it would be ‘ *but imperfectly to conceive the wishes* ’ of those who know that no proofs exist but the proofs of their own crimes, to submit such proofs to their inspection—to the inspection of the people—to the inspection of all Europe. Those who, like you, are perfectly acquainted, by their own feelings, who were the real Fructidorian conspirators ; those who tremble, even at this day, lest they should be forced too clearly to contemplate that immortal victory, that victory in which the Constitution expired under their poignards, in which the rights of man were torn in pieces by their sacrilegious hands ;

those men, I say, will thank you for this *trait* of genius, worthy of Fouquier-Tinville.

But all mankind have not, like you, or like them, the art of setting themselves above the reproaches of conscience ; and, therefore, those of the representatives who, on that glorious day, paralyzed with terror, proscribed their colleagues in a mass ; or, through weakness or impotence, suffered them to be proscribed, yet shuddering at their own art, and hoping that they might one day be relieved from the burden with which they were overwhelmed ; those men, Citizen Bailleul, would not have thought that you had *imperfectly conceived their wishes*, or that you had undertaken an unnecessary labour, in proving to them that what they were then doing, if it was not constitutional, was at least radically just,

Yes ; I, who am far removed from the cabinet of ministers ; I, who am living in retirement in an obscure village in the heart of Germany ; I will prove to Bailleul, that the documents which he says are ‘ *deposited in the hands of the mi-*

nisters,' and which he declares he has seen and read, have in fact no existence. I will prove to Bailleul, that there does exist a multitude of documents, which establish facts diametrically opposite to those to which he has pledged himself. I will prove to Bailleul, that he is the vilest and basest of impostors.

I shall examine, sentence by sentence, what he has said concerning me; to each of them I shall reply successively. I begin with the text, which is literally as follows. (p. 35.)

' Carnot denies that assassinations were committed.'

Is it in writing, Citizen Bailleul, or verbally, that I have *denied* this fact? If it be in writing, the *official documents* must be '*in the hands of the ministers,*' as you have before declared. Produce these documents. Explain to us what kind of documents could prove such a *denial*; or by what sort of declaration any one can assert, that throughout France, or only, for instance,

in the South, no crime has been committed. But to have done with this trifling absurdity ; — I will presently demonstrate that the official documents, which actually exist, state the direct contrary to be the fact.

In the first place, then, YOU LIB, when you assert that all the facts are proved by official documents. It is only verbally, then, that I have denied this fact ? And from whom could you learn this, Citizen Bailleul ? From the Directory, no doubt, whose assertions are equally deserving of confidence with the *official documents deposited in the hands of the ministers*. But, Citizen Bailleul, the Directory give evidence here in their own cause ; either the Directory, therefore, must acknowledge that it has been guilty of a horrid outrage, or it must maintain that those whom it proscribed were really criminal. The Directory is all-powerful, whereas the other parties are either fugitives or in prison. Do you believe they will proclaim the innocence of these men, and declare themselves deserving of the most severe punishment.

The number of assassinations was doubtless much exaggerated by the newspapers, and the causes of these assassinations were not always those attributed to them. But so far from having ever denied their existence, no one has been so urgent as myself for the prosecution of the assassins; no one has so bitterly complained of the glaring partiality of the tribunals; no one has with so much warmth and earnestness recommended to the members of the Legislative Body to place adequate means in the hands of the Directory to put a stop to this deluge of crimes.

The *official proofs* of all this, Citizen Bailleul, are to be found in the letters which I wrote in the name of the Directory to the Generals commanding in the interior, and which are deposited with the Directory itself; they are to be found in the testimonies of all those who heard me speak on this execrable system of assassination.

I will, in my turn, state a fact, which proves, that, far from denying these atrocities, I, on the contrary, exerted the utmost of my power to

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have the authors of them punished ; a circumstance which would appear singular, did we not know the unparalleled villany of the tyrants, of whom you, Bailleul, are the worthy tool :—But the fact is proved by *official documents deposited in the hands of the ministers !*

Acts of violence took place at Dijon and at Arras : in the first of which a murder had even been committed ; nor could it be doubted that these outrages were the work of the counter-revolutionists. Of these facts I had collected numerous proofs which I imparted to the Directory, and also placed them in the hands of the Minister of General Police, with a request that he would prosecute the perpetrators. Yet, incredible as it may appear, I could never obtain a report on this subject. Incredible as it may appear, I spoke in the warmest manner to the Directory no less than fifteen times, who never deigned to attend to the business ! The papers which I communicated will attest the fact ; the deputies from the Department of the *Côte d'Or* in particular can prove with what ardour I pro-

secuted the affair of their own Department : yet all my labour was in vain ! — And why ? — Because the Directory were well pleased that assassinations should be committed : — because (according to their doctrine) the true remedy being the excess of the evil, they were desirous that the evil should be carried to excess.

But these were, in fact, mere pretexts for accusations against the members of the legislature, and those of the Directory whom they were resolved to ruin. Above all, they seized with the utmost avidity every opportunity of directing against me that indignation which the impunity of crimes necessarily produced in the Departments where I was particularly interested. I was born in the Department of the *Côte d'Or*, and was married in that of the *Pas de Calais* ; this is the reason I have never been able to obtain justice for either the one or the other of these Departments.

‘ He opposes the dismissal of Willot.’

Either Willot was culpable, Citizen Bailleul, or he was not. If Willot was innocent, it was my duty to oppose his dismissal: if he was guilty, it is not I that should be accused, but those very triumvirs who wish to charge me with the crime they have themselves committed. Did they not form the majority of the Directory? Could they not dismiss Willot in spite of my individual opinion? It follows then, either that the triumvirate thought, like me, that Willot was not criminal, or that they were themselves the accomplices of Willot. Choose, Citizen Bailleul, which alternative you please. How is it, that, after taking six months to forge lies, you at last allow such bungling falsehoods to escape you?

Can any thing more absurd be conceived, than three men saying, “ We formed a majority in the Directory, and we could take whatever measures we thought proper to stop the progress of disorders; yet we allowed assassinations without number to be committed, because one of

our colleagues did not believe that assassinations really existed, although we were perfectly certain that they were perpetrated every day:—we suffered the principal cut-throat to continue in place, because this same colleague of ours did not believe him to be an assassin, although we had a thousand proofs of his criminality?”

“ Our colleague may have been deceived ; he is in an error ; consequently he is a royalist, and ought to be exiled. As for us, no one has imposed upon us ; it is knowingly, and with our eyes open, that we have permitted thousands of assassinations to be committed ; thus we are only guilty of cowardice and cruelty ; consequently we are the true patriots, and ought to continue in the Directory in order to bring about *Fructidorian revolutions*.”

Willot was sent to Marseilles as a man of character, and qualified to keep all parties within bounds. He had combated with success the rebels of La Vendée. It will be found, even in his letters, that he thinks Hoche is not

sufficiently suspicious of them. He fears their submission may be only a feint ! that they are abusing the indulgence of government ; and that they will take advantage of the first favourable opportunity to renew their plots and conspiracies.

In a short time, however, we received contradictory reports from Marseilles relative to the conduct of Willot ; those who propagated them, call themselves true patriots, and treat all their adversaries as robbers and assassins ; some as the agents of anarchy, others as the advocates of royalism.

Barras proposed the dismissal of Willot. But what friends, what correspondents could Barras have at Marseilles ? Probably those who, during his mission with Fréron, suggested to him so many dilapidations, so many massacres, so many scenes of horror ; the authorities recently constituted by this same Fréron in his second mission ; by this disciple, this co-adjutor, of Marat, who boasts of having composed the most virulent articles of his bloody pages ; and

who even, after the ninth of Thermidor, continued to invoke him as his tutelary divinity.

I opposed the removal of Willot until further examinations were made. The other members of the Directory did the same. This is evident; since, if they had thought with Barras, they would have been a majority, and Willot would have been dismissed. These are the wretches who accuse me now of having opposed Willot's dismissal!

In the Departments of the South was a man, named Cadet, who was in the confidence of the Directory. It was agreed to refer the business to him; he was ordered immediately to repair to Marseilles, and transmit an exact and positive account of the conduct of Willot. Cadet wrote that Willot conducted himself very well, that he displayed much energy and impartiality, and that his conduct was absolutely irreproachable. Willot was unanimously continued at Marseilles, and Barras himself dared not to vote against him.

In the mean while complaints were made against Moynat-d'Auxon, who commanded at Toulon. The Directory ordered Cadet to proceed to Toulon, and send them an account of the conduct of Moynat. Cadet returned for answer, that Moynat was unfit for the command, and that he leaned to aristocracy. I immediately proposed the removal of Moynat; and, taking a pen, drew up the decree myself. The Secretary-General can and ought to attest this fact.

The deliberations of the Directory were recorded in the journals, and the letters of Cadet are among the *official papers* deposited in the offices. Are you satisfied now, Citizen Bailleul?

But there exist other official documents with respect to Willot. I mean the letters I wrote to him in the name of the Executive Directory; and that which I addressed to him in my own private capacity, after his taking his seat in the Legislative Body. All these letters formally prove the reverse of what you advance. The last of

them contains bitter reproaches on the step he took in the Council of Five Hundred. The Directory got possession of this minute, by putting their seal upon my papers : and what illustrates the good faith that governs both them and you; Citizen Bailleul, who say you have collected all the documents, is, that you not only omit to mention this minute, which would confound your imposture, but that you even dare to advance as a fact, the direct contrary of what is substantially proved by that letter. Assuredly, when every thing that was dear to me, when even my family papers fell into the hands of the tyrants, it cannot be asserted, that I only left those letters which I was willing should be read. Do there exist in any part of the Republic, or elsewhere, any letters of mine written in a different style? I challenge all those who have any such in their possession to send them to the Executive Directory.

Not only my letter to Willot must have been found among my papers, but all my private correspondence with Bonaparte ; all my official

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correspondence with the Generals during the campaign of 1793 and 1794; all my private letters to different representatives of the people from the opening of the last session. It can be easily seen, whether I have varied in my principles; whether the language I held under the revolutionary government contradicts that which I held under the constitutional government; whether it is not uniformly that of the most ardent civism, combined with the deepest sense of humanity, and the purest morality. These papers contain the best answers that can be given both to those who wished to implicate me in the conspiracy of Robespierre, and to those who have included me in the Fructidorian proscription. I shall, one day, perhaps, be accused of having even participated in the new tyranny itself!

When Willot was elected into the Legislative Body, it was thought the best measure to pursue, was to order Bonaparte to replace him, by sending to Marseilles any of the Generals, in the Army of Italy, he thought best qualified to execute that delicate and important commission.

Bonaparte sent Sahuguet, and presently the same reproaches were lavished on Sahuguet, as had been lavished on Willot; and thus, Citizen Bailleul, you have an accusation prepared for Bonaparte whenever occasion shall require.

‘ Though once an implacable enemy to Pichegru, yet now he has taken his seat in the Legislative Body, he has daily interviews with him privately and confidentially.’

I have never been either the friend or the enemy of Pichegru. I have never been either the personal friend or the personal enemy of any of the Commanders in Chief in the service of the Republic. I have esteemed and cultivated the friendship of those who were able and skilful officers, and I have contributed as much as I could to employ them, while I endeavoured to remove such as were unfortunate, without giving them any personal pain or offence,

My confidence in Pichegru began to diminish, when his conduct gave birth to doubts in my

mind, relative to the firmness of his principles. Reubel also stated some facts to the Directory, which increased my suspicions. As Pichegru, therefore, had thrice offered to retire, I proposed at last to accept of his resignation. Pichegru was no longer employed, but came to Paris, where he complained bitterly, and said, that he had not expressly offered his resignation, but had only demanded leave of absence. Great pains were now taken to irritate him against me. He was really my enemy, but I was not his. The same newspapers that now describe me as his accomplice, then imputed his retreat to me as a crime. It was even pretended that he was starving, and that he was obliged to maintain himself by keeping the Diligences at Vesoul. On my suggestion, however, the Directory continued his pay as General of Division.

When Pichegru appeared in the Legislative Body, I was desirous of being beforehand with him, and paid him a visit. I did the same with Jourdan. I was accompanied by two general officers, and we conversed several hours

on the situation of political affairs, and the necessity of re-establishing harmony between the chief constituted authorities. Pichegru spoke with more shrewdness than I had imagined him to possess, for I scarcely knew him, except through the medium of his military talents; and they do not always infer that cultivation of mind which is the offspring of a liberal education; and, in the few opportunities I had of seeing him, he had always appeared very reserved and silent. When we left him, one of the general officers said to me, "I am not pleased with Pichegru; I do not think him sincere:" I suspect (said I) it is because, he is no longer Commander in Chief of the Army of the Rhine.

I was desirous, however, of drying up the source of every animosity, and of preventing the revival of those factions that had so long torn the bosom of the Republic; I therefore invited to dinner the general officers, who were deputed to the Legislative Body, particularly Pichegru and Jourdan, whom I wished to reconcile.—

Jourdan came, but Pichegru staid away, although he had promised.—Since that time, I invited him again, for I was desirous of knowing the real state of his mind ; but, as he constantly made excuses, I at length desisted from repeating my invitations.

He waited on me, however, one evening, together with eight or ten others of the representatives of the people ; but they only came by accident, and did not stay above two or three minutes in my garden, where I received them. Pichegru did not once speak to me, nor did I address myself to him.

These were the only occasions on which I have seen Pichegru since his admission into the Legislative Body; this is what Bailleul calls having daily interviews with him privately and confidentially; but if they were so, how did Bailleul become acquainted with our meetings? How could he be sure of them? Is this also proved by *official papers in the hands of the ministers*? Let him name the

places where I met Pichegru, the houses where we were together, and the persons who have seen us. Have the numerous sentinels of the Luxembourg ever seen him? Have the porters, the servants, the spies of the little Réveillère, who lived in the same staircase with myself, ever seen him?

And as I have not received him at my own apartments, neither have I seen him elsewhere; for, during the whole duration of my dictatorial functions, I did not go out a dozen times, except with some part of my family—unless, indeed, my wife, my sister, my children, my domestics, are all supposed to be the accomplices of my secret, confidential interviews with Pichegru!

The assertion I am now disproving is the most important of them all. Even supposing Pichegru was guilty, I might have been deceived in him, and seen him without suspicion. But who would have exculpated me from the prejudice which would result from it? What an abyss of calumny!

is in the accusation! WHAT MONSTERS ARE THESE TRIUMVIRS! What a degraded being is this J. Ch. Bailleul!!

A few days previous to the catastrophe of the 18th Fructidor, the female citizen Eblé, sister of the celebrated General of artillery, came to my apartments. "Is it then certain, Citizen Carnot, (said she) that Pichegru will desert the patriots?" I know nothing of it, I replied, but his conduct is by no means calculated to inspire confidence. —"I am determined (replied she) to go and see him. I am determined to read his heart in his countenance, and know the real state of his mind." I approved her determination, and she returned two or three days after, saying, "No, Pichegru does not desert us. He asks what he shall do to prove that he does not abandon the cause of the patriots." Pichegru, replied I, must ascend the tribune of the Council of Five Hundred, and there declare himself in a manner that will leave no doubt what his real sentiments are, and strike terror into the conspirators of the counter-revolution. His actions must

correspond with his words, and in lieu of feeding criminal hopes, by an ambiguity of conduct, he must at length rally all the defenders of liberty around the national standard. This, said I, is the only part that is becoming the character of Pichegru, and in doing this there is no time to lose.

The female citizen Eblé told me she would instantly communicate to him my advice. But this happened, I believe, on the 16th Fructidor, and I never saw her afterwards. She may be consulted relative to the fact, and I have no fear of her refusing to bear an authentic testimony to the truth.

Let us hope the Legislative Body of the great nation will one day be sufficiently *free*, to dare modestly to demand, of our demi-gods, what proofs they can adduce, that the victim, who escaped their murderous knife, in the night between the 17th and 18th Fructidor, had daily interviews with Pichegru.

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I am far from wishing to decide whether Pichegru was or was not guilty ; guilty he certainly was, if a hundredth part of what is said of him in the Committee's Report is true. But when I demonstrate that, with regard to all the facts that are thoroughly known to me, this Report has violently distorted the truth with the utmost degree of impudence and perfidy, it is surely allowable to suppose they have not treated it with more respect in what relates to others, when we behold them carrying their injustice so far as to depreciate the services of Pichegru, as commander in chief of the Army of the North, and reduce them to nothing, merely lest the world should place these services in the scale against the crimes with which they accuse him.

If Pichegru is innocent, the same inscription may be put upon his tomb as on that of Scipio, which still exists in the vicinity of Naples :

“ Ingrata patria ! neque ossa mea habebis.”

‘ A declared advocate of kings, he exclaimed, when the Republican directors made such propo-

sals for peace as were honourable to France,
 YOU ARE DESIROUS, THEN, TO OPPRESS THE
 EMPEROR.'

Was I the advocate of kings, when I voted for the death of the King of France, and made every other king tremble upon his throne?— And you, Bailleul, how did you signalize yourself in this celebrated struggle, while the result was doubtful? Ask these kings which they love best, an advocate like me, or a valet like yourself?

' *Republican directors!* ' I know of none such among the triumvirs — I know only of assassins of the Republic and of the Constitution.

' *Honourable proposals!* ' Where are they? Can any thing honourable be proposed by men destitute of every principle of honour and of justice? Does not truth itself become falsehood when it passes through their corrupted organs? Would not honour itself, could it approach them,

be tarnished by their infected breath? would it not expire on their gangrened lips?

If it was I who prevented the adoption of their *honourable proposals*, they ought to have renewed them when I ceased to be a member of the Directory; they ought to have explained their new conditions in the Treaty of Campo Formio. But where are these condition? In what respect is the Emperor more oppressed by this Treaty than by that of Leoben? The Treaty of Campo Formio is not even so favourable as that of Leoben, as I shall presently demonstrate.

It was in their power to have concluded the peace five months earlier, on the conditions that have been adopted; and it was because I was desirous it should be concluded immediately, it was because I was unwilling that hostilities should be renewed, or that they should place the Republic in new dilemmas and difficulties (as I myself wrote to Bonaparte), that they said I was fearful of their oppressing the Emperor.

Will they talk of the surrender of Mentz? But it was I who proposed not to evacuate Palma-nova, till the Emperor had retired from Mentz, and from the whole right bank of the Rhine. It was I who wrote various letters to Bonaparte on this subject. Our *Republican directors* paid it no attention whatever.

‘ YOU ARE DESIROUS, THEN, TO OPPRESS THE EMPEROR.’

These are not my words, Bailleul; no; I said to these political Quixotes, “ You are not, then, “ desirous of peace with the Emperor. If your “ conditions are so *oppressive* to him, that it is “ impossible for him to accept them without “ evidently incurring his own destruction, you “ had better frankly declare that you mean to “ resume hostilities, and are resolved on a war “ of extermination.” At these words, Réveillière leaped upon his seat, and said he knew not whether he ought not to break up the sitting. I observed to Réveillière, that I only repeated what Bonaparte had frequently written, that no

peace could be permanent, the conditions of which were intolerable to the vanquished party ; that, otherwise, a leaven of irritation would remain, which sooner or later would produce a fatal explosion. This explanation seemed to pacify the acrimonious viper, who coiled himself again on his chair.

In this place I must unveil the atrocious perfidy of these three miscreants. — BONAPARTE WAS EVER ODIUS TO THEM, AND THEY NEVER LOST SIGHT OF THEIR DETERMINATION TO DESTROY HIM. From this accusation I do not even except Barras ; the gnashing of his teeth, when that General sent Sahuguet to Marseilles, his exclamations against the preliminaries of Leoben, his gross and calumnious sarcasms on a person who must be dear to Bonaparte, prove the blackness of his inmost thoughts. This man, under an outside of pretended levity, conceals the ferocity of a Caligula,

It is not true that it was he who first proposed the appointment of Bonaparte to the command

of the Army of Italy ; it was I who proposed him. But on this point they have waited till time should show how he would succeed ; and it was only among the intimate friends of Barras that he boasted of having been the original proposer of him to the Directory. Had Bonaparte failed, it was I alone that was to bear the blame, for having recommended to that command an inexperienced youth and an intriguer ; I should then have been the evident betrayer of my country. The others took no share in the conduct of the war ; it was on me that all the responsibility would have fallen. But Bonaparte was triumphant ; and, from that moment, it was Barras who caused him to be appointed, and to him alone was due all the praise. He was his protector, his defender against my attacks ; while I was jealous of Bonaparte, crossed him in all his plans, persecuted him, slandered him, refused him the necessary succours, and was evidently resolved to ruin him ! Such are the filthy excrements of falsehood with which, from time to time, the journals in the pay of Barras are filled.

Some, it is true, there were, who were desirous of ruining Bonaparte. I allude to the famous triumvirate, who were continually trembling lest they should be deprived of their authority and power. The ascendancy which that General had acquired, through his innumerable victories, began to goad and torment them. While they attempted to ruin Bonaparte, I was also to be involved in the consequences; and thus the triumvirate would get rid of two of their enemies at once. Then it was evident that I was the secret rival of the Hero of Italy, whose fall I had prepared! My sentence would have been speedily pronounced; and they would have then performed the obsequies of Bonaparte as magnificently as they did those of General Hoche.

But it will be answered, that I ought in my turn to prove my assertions. This would be perfectly easy, if, like Bailleul, I had ‘*the official papers in the hands of the ministers*’ at my disposal. Nor will it by any means be impossible, though living in retirement in an obscure village of Germany.

Bonaparte, as that General well remembers, had suggested, that it would be expedient to diminish the number of our enemies, by concluding treaties of peaces with some of them. He recommended that we should treat with the King of Sardinia, and still more particularly with the King of Naples. Reubel was appointed to conduct the diplomatic Department, as I was that of the war. What did he do in consequence of the earnest request of Bonaparte? — Nothing. What did I say? Nothing! Yes, he raised innumerable paultry difficulties relative to the Treaty of Piedmont, and absolutely refused to treat with Naples. It was I who, fatigued with these affected delays, of which I clearly perceived the object, transacted alone (except a few observations of Charles de la Croix) the Treaty with Sardinia, which, I believe, is by no means the worst. It was I, too, who set that of Naples on foot; and, being unable to procure a serious deliberation on this subject at the Directory, called a meeting of some of its members to draw up the articles of the Treaty.

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This meeting took place the same evening between Le Tourneur, La Révellière, and myself, at the residence of the latter. Had Barras been a friend to Bonaparte, knowing as he did the wishes of that General, that we should treat immediately, he would have attended this meeting, in order to accelerate its object. But on the contrary, he absented himself, and Reubel stayed at home to meditate new expedients and evasions for the ensuing day. The Treaty, however, was drawn up in a single evening, and the next day, notwithstanding the accustomed apathy of Barras; notwithstanding his disdainful air, which shame prevented him from manifesting by a direct refusal; notwithstanding the opposition of Reubel; notwithstanding his favourite cry of, '*honourable conditions*,' and his positive declaration that he would not sign the Treaty, it was, as it were, wrested from them by force, and instantly concluded.

This, I am of opinion, was the greatest service it was possible for me to render my country, in the circumstances which we were

then placed. But this infringement on the diplomatic province of Reubel, which the situation of affairs rendered indispensably necessary, was an affront never to be forgiven by that deceitful and vindictive statesman.

Although the collective force of the enemies opposed to Bonaparte was thus considerably diminished, and although he had now his flanks and his rear free from annoyance, yet he had not sufficient forces to procure him any decisive advantages over the Emperor. He demanded a succour of 15,000 men; I formed a plan for sending him 30,000. The necessary orders were immediately communicated to the army of the Rhine and Moselle, and to that of the Sambre and Meuse, to detach without delay, and as secretly as possible, 15,000 men each to join the army of Italy, filing off under various pretexts along the frontiers of Switzerland. It was a similar movement of 40,000 men, detached from the army of the Moselle towards the Meuse, under the orders of Jourdan, at the moment when they were expected to march towards the

Rhine, that decided, in the year 1793, the fate of that famous campaign.

The 30,000 men, destined for the army of Italy, were to be at first detached from the army of the Rhine and Moselle, and then one-half the number replaced from that of the Sambre and Meuse. Never were orders more punctually or more faithfully executed. Moreau, who foresaw the possibility of an arrangement of that nature, had long held a body of troops in reserve for that purpose; and although his army was in a worse condition than the other, because it could not like that live at the expences of the enemy, and the poverty of the finances prevented any relief being given to their necessities, yet he made some sacrifices, in order that the *corps de reserve* might be tolerably well equipped, and ready to depart at the first signal. The signal was given, and the troops marched and arrived on the frontiers of Montblanc, before the enemy could suspect they were destined for the army of Italy.

O Moreau! O beloved Fabius of France! how great didst thou appear in this glorious transaction! how superior wert thou to those petty rivalships that sometimes cause the best concerted projects to miscarry! Let men accuse thee, on the one hand, of not having denounced Pichegru, and on the other for denouncing him; all I know is, that my heart whispers me, that Moreau cannot be guilty. Yes, my heart proclaims thee a true hero. Yes, posterity will be more just than thy cotemporaries, and will erect altars to thy memory.

‘ Even the political existence of the Pope was dear to him.’

It is most probable, since Bailleul does not say any thing that is not *‘ supported by official papers in the hands of the ministers,’* that there must have been found, among those papers, a correspondence between Pius VI. and myself, which must have been intercepted! Why then does not Bailleul amuse the public with some

extracts from this correspondence? The Pope, no doubt, must have sent me some relics and plenary indulgences to bring me over to his interests, and these must have been seized when the seals were put upon my papers!

The little Réveillère was in fact *so much afraid of the Pope* that he continually fancied he saw him pursuing him, and holding up his fingers to give him his benediction. The Vicar of Christ was a dangerous rival to a man who was also desirous of becoming the head of a sect. One night Réveillère formed the design of becoming a Great Man. We ought never to resist inspirations from above—but how was so laudable an object to be attained? After deep consideration, Réveillère determined to become one of the Theophilanthropists. This, it is true, might be considered as a new road to the temple of Fame, although it had already been tried by several. But we should recollect, that although Sir Isaac Newton was not the original discoverer of the principle of gravity, he is nevertheless considered

as the author of the system of attraction, because it was he who discovered its laws, and fixed its proportions.

Réveillère then, who disbelieves the existence of a God, and passes his life in tormenting mankind, enrolled himself among those who professed to be worshippers of the Supreme Being and benefactors of the human race; and dreaming that he was already the founder of a new religion, that he was another Mahomet, he immediately set about composing his Koran. This work, to produce which he tortured all his mental powers during several months (not having, like his predecessor, a pigeon to whisper in his ears), shows the exact extent of his capacity. This *chef d'œuvre* was read to the National Institute, and nothing but the high dignity of the author restrained the laughter of the audience, who pinched and tormented themselves to avoid sleeping. But, alas! they were not delighted as they ought to have been at hearing this work: it was too profound to be intelligible to the members of the Institute. He received

no compliments, and the journals even forgot to notice it. Réveillère was stung to the soul at this neglect, and from that moment became captious, peevish, and a planner of new revolutions: unable to be a Mahomet, he now resolved to be a Cid.

The Catholic religion in particular became the object of his Theophilanthropic rage: and all who laughed at the name of Theophilanthropist, all who thought of the Theophilanthropists as Cicero did of the Aruspices, were considered by Réveillère as furious Papists. I had the mortification to be no admirer of the dogmas of this new sect, though I did not absolutely ridicule them. Universal toleration is the only dogma I profess. I think the balance is nearly equal between the good arising from sincere religion, and the evil from its abuses; I abhor fanaticism, and am of opinion that the fanaticism of irreligion, which was brought into fashion by the *Marats* and the *Peres Duchêne*, is the most baneful of all. In a word, I think we ought not to put men to death to make

them believe, nor to prevent their believing, but that we ought to pity the weaknesses of others, since each of us has some of his own, and leave prejudices to wear themselves out by time, when we cannot overcome them by reason.

I am nearly of the same opinion with regard to the liberty of the press. The abuse of that liberty is, no doubt, a great evil, but an attempt to fix its limits is a still greater. I am of opinion that the licentiousness of the press produces in time its own remedy ; that there is neither civil nor political liberty wherever the press is not free ; that we must unavoidably either submit to an arbitrary government, or endure the editors of newspapers. Yet no one has been more the victim of their calumnies than myself.

Such is my creed on these two important points ; erroneous perhaps in its theory, but surely it may be maintained without incurring criminality. I have often declared it to the

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Directory, but to them it is an unintelligible language: it might with equal hope of success be proposed to the Grand Signor to throw open his seraglio to all the youth of Constantinople. Our republican Directors wish France to be under the dominion of a political inquisition, and to become a vast living tomb, resembling the prisons of Genoa, on the gates of which was inscribed, as it were in derision, the word *Libertas*.

But to return to the Pope. Réveillère, who believes that whoever is not a Theophilanthropist must necessarily be a Catholic and ought to be crucified, thought he beheld in me a staunch friend of the court of Rome. I had bestowed much praise on Bonaparte for having disdained the empty glory of marching against that city, in order to attack a more dangerous enemy, the defeat of whom must necessarily cause the fall of Rome and of all the states of Italy. The Theophilanthropist, on the contrary, was desirous that the army should march directly to the Capitol, and chant a hymn over the tomb

of the Gracchi. To him the carrying off the worm-eaten Virgin of Loretto appeared a far more important victory than the bearing away in triumph the standards of the batallion of Vienna.

I might have renounced both Jesus Christ and the Pope a hundred times a day, yet it would have been impossible to persuade Réveillère but that I was one of the most rigid of Catholics. Great men have sometimes certain moral disorders of which it is extremely difficult to cure them : Pascal fancied himself constantly plunged up to the navel in a river. Réveillère continually fancies himself in a vessel of holy water. But we ought to forgive this weakness, in consideration of the *memorable services* he has rendered to his country. He is one of our saviours, and all who behold this "lamb without blemish" should exclaim with the Italian preacher, *Ecco il vero policinello !*

' He was for converting all our conquests into separate kingdoms; and the creation of a kingdom

of Lombardy particularly flattered his imagination ; and Barthelemy showed, by the most significant nods, how much this system pleased him.

My memory is so treacherous, on this occasion, that I should have been glad if Bailleul had proved this fact, by citing some passages from '*the official papers in the hands of the ministers,*' by which, as he has declared, all the facts advanced by him are confirmed. It seems that on this point I have not reserved my plans *in petto*, but that I have explicitly proposed them to the Directory. I must have fully explained my system, since Barthelemy expressed his approbation by '*significant nods.*' Could no traces of all this be found in the journals of the Directory, and the *procès-verbaux* of their sittings, where every thing of importance that passes is taken down? Each member has a right, according to the Constitution, to record his opinion on the journals ; and this is very frequently done.

The Directory, who, according to the expression of Barras in his speech to Bonaparte, had

'long *since premeditated in its wisdom*' the immortal victory of the 18th Fructidor, had now a very fine opportunity of convicting me of royalism, and of preparing an act of accusation against me which I could not have rebutted, when the great day should come; by inscribing in the *procès-verbal* the thundering answer each of the members must have made to me, when I had the baseness to propose the conversion of all our conquests into so many kingdoms.

What say you to this, Bailleul? Confess that it is an unpardonable omission. This is really a blunder, and the most skilful men sometimes commit them. I have, however, already observed to you, Bailleul, that you took full six months to give a semblance of truth to your lies; but, for want of these precious documents, which would have thrown so much light on the secret springs of the conspiracy, I am obliged to have recourse to the repository of my memory for the grounds on which the triumvirates have built this impertinent falsehood; at length,

I think, I have discovered a slender clue that leads to it. Here it is,

I recommended giving to the Duke of Parma some portions of the Papal territories, (notwithstanding my affection for his holiness), and part of those of Modena in exchange for Louisiana and Florida, which the King of Spain was to have ceded to us for the sake of procuring a more considerable establishment for the Infant. In this I perceived two advantages; 1st, The advantage, not of creating a new republic in Europe, but, on the contrary, *of republicanizing a fine extensive tract of country in America, which would have given us so great an influence over the United States*, and of which the blunderers, or the traitors, who negotiated the Treaty with Spain did not procure the cession, although it was perfectly easy to be obtained, 2d. That of opposing a stronger barrier to the Emperor in Italy than the Cisalpine Republic alone; for the King of Spain being thereby powerfully interested in the protection of that country, would have been an

important counterpoise to the House of Austria. Add to this, it would have been a farther means of securing the continuance of peace, and of the alliance of the French Republic with Spain: for then, Spain would have felt the want of us to assist her in opposing the Emperor in Italy; and had she been inclined to declare war, she would have been exposed to be attacked by us in two places at once. This, then, was the best pledge we could receive of a permanent alliance with Spain. But the penetrating eye of the triumvirate immediately discovered, that the true object was to revive the kingdom of Lombardy; and the dread of this imaginary kingdom prevented them from aggrandizing the Republic with an immense territory now useless and even prejudicial to Spain, and from holding out their helping hand to those Frenchmen who have so long been panting for a re-union with their true mother-country—much to the honour of our *republican directors!*

As to that multitude of petty kingdoms with which (like so many planets) I was desirous of

surrounding the fun of the Republic, although this is particularly calculated to *flatter the imagination*, I confess I have not the smallest recollection of it whatever; but, I promise Bailleul, to answer him on this point as soon as he shall produce the *official papers* which are in the hands of the ministers.

The significant nods of Barthelemy are also, no doubt, among the *official papers in the hands of the ministers*, and Bailleul will one day tell us in what shape they appear there. Poor Barthelemy would be extremely astonished were it announced to him, on the bed of straw where his infirmities repose in a country of savages, that he was sent thither for his *significant nods* when I proposed the creation of kingdoms. "Alas!" he would say, "I thought I had never heard my colleague Carnot talk of kingdoms but to destroy them. Let me, I beseech you, die in peace among these good people who are far less deserving the name of savages than yourselves. Go, depart from these huts into which corruption has never yet found its way. Is it possible

that any government should be reduced to the necessity of justifying its acts of cruelty, by recurring to such base artifices, such barefaced lies ? ”

I have now exhausted the article of the text relative to myself in the Report of Bailleul. I proceed to the note (p. 52 and 53). Here, no doubt, the grand secrets will all be divulged.

‘ It was not merely by supporting the cause of Austria, and saying it was intended to oppress her, that Carnot betrayed the system he was secretly pursuing in order to overthrow the Republic ! ’

‘ When the affairs of Holland were under discussion ; when the plan of the treaty was digesting, wherein it was intended faithfully to perform the promise made to that new republic, not to separate our interests from hers ; when the means were under consideration, by which that country might be rescued from the convulsions with which it was

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equally threatened by the Stadtholderians and the Anarchists ; when measures were sought for by which a government might be established in that country, and its liberty secured, Carnot maintained that Holland must be sacrificed, that we ought to be indifferent to her fate, and that we ought not to make ourselves uneasy should England keep some of her settlements. Let them fight,' said he, ' as long as they will ; to us, that will be no great disadvantage.'

Whence, Bailleul, did you get all these fine things ? not from the *official papers in the hands of the ministers* : for words are not placed in the hands of the ministers, and, particularly, words spoken in the sittings of the Directory ; you must, then, have received them from our august directors, whose veracity they fully demonstrate. It is curious to hear a Reubel talk of fidelity ; it is curious to hear the triumvirate unfold their principles of morality, and accuse *him* of violating its precepts who has been ruined merely by his adherence to principle and to the laws, and because he would not employ any other arms than

principle and the laws, against men who advanced to the combat with all the weapons of *Machiavelism* and of crimes.

But you yourself, Bailleul, you who are their faithful interpreter, do you not (in p. 47) deliver their profession of faith and your own, when you say to the Legislative Body, ‘ *I repeat it, Let us banish these absurd theories of pretended principles, these stupid innovations of the Constitution?*’

The whole of your own system, and that of your heroes, is comprised in these few words: — Principle is only fit for fools; — the Constitution is only fit for fools; — honour and fidelity to our engagements are only fit for fools; — there is no such thing as right, but for him who is the strongest; — all other theories of pretended principles are absurd, and he who appeals to them is a dolt!

Have not the events of the 18th Fructidor demonstrated this? And, besides, *it is needless to prove the existence of light*. All the annals of antiquity are in favour of the system of Bailleul!

The stupid Aristides was banished from his native country; the stupid Miltiades died in prison; the stupid Socrates swallowed hemlock; the stupid Cato was reduced to the necessity of putting an end to his own existence; the stupid Cicero was assassinated by order of the triumvirs; the stupid Phocion, when an Athenian, who saw him conducted to prison, cried out "Oh! worthy old man, who could have believed it possible thou shouldst come to such an end!" replied, "Have not all those, who have rendered important services to their country, experienced a similar fate?"

You, Bailleul, have laid down in your work some most admirable maxims, far superior to the dull precepts of philosophy!

But let us return to the subject of Holland.—Never was it under discussion with the Executive Directory, to find means of *rescuing that country from the convulsions with which the Stadtholderians and the Anarchists equally threatened it*. Never did they talk of *measures to be taken to establish a government and secure their liberty*.

I defy any one to find a word on the subject in their journals, except a few letters, written by myself to the Generals, on the internal police of the country. Our *Republican directors* were employing themselves on much more important affairs, on *propositions far more honourable to France!* They were busy in inquiring **HOW THEY MIGHT PLUNDER HOLLAND,** and by *what lure they could induce the Dutch themselves to assist in this generous design!*

At the discussion which was held, to determine on what footing that country should be placed, in the Treaty then negotiating at Lissè with Lord Malmesbury, Reubel made a violent harangue against the Batavian nation. He said, they were all Stadtholderians, and had constantly betrayed us. They were a nation of merchants, whose interests were centered in England, whose wishes were in favour of the English, who were only watching for an opportunity to surrender themselves to the English, into whose hands Admiral T. Lucas had recently delivered his fleet at the Cape of Good Hope.

Every thing that Holland had to gain in prosperity and in riches, it was evident, could only be at the expence of France, and to the advantage of England. In short, there was but one line of conduct to pursue with regard to Holland—

‘ TO KEEP HER IN THE MOST ABSOLUTE DEPENDENCE — TO SUBJECT HER TO A PASSIVE OBEDIENCE — AND TO TREAT HER AS A CONQUERED COUNTRY !!! ’

“ If this be so,” said I, “ we are very unwise to continue the war merely for the restoration of their colonies ; or, when our own are offered us, to exhaust the remains of our marine in vain efforts to serve so ungrateful a nation. I am of opinion that Holland should be asked, what sacrifices she is willing to make to obtain peace.”

“ But, do you imagine,” replied Reubel, “ that it is for Holland that I would demand the restitution of the Cape and Trincomale ? The first object is that of recovering the possession of them, for which purpose the Dutch must furnish the ships and the money, and afterwards I will

clearly convince them that these colonies belong to us !!! ”

I was not a little struck with the deep policy of Reubel, and I clearly perceived that he had dived to the bottom of his subject. I was desirous, however, that he should explicitly declare what was intended to be done at Lille, that it might be understood whether there was a real wish to effect a pacification, or merely to impose on the world. It was necessary that the deliberation should be brought to a conclusion. The plenipotentiaries were urgent to receive positive instructions. At length we concluded (and Reubel himself was the speaker) by ordering the Minister of Foreign Affairs to write, that, with respect to the Batavians, the Directory had fulfilled the duties of a faithful ally, by declaring they would not give up any of their possessions, but that it now remained for them to say *what sacrifices they could resolve on for the sake of peace ; that if it was their determination not to give up any thing, they should declare what resources they would offer for the continuance of the*

war ; that if these resources, added to those of France, were inadequate to those which the English would employ against them, France would then be necessitated to make a separate peace.

Thus, Bailleul, you perceive that my conclusions were adopted. But it was done merely through respect, and because they could not act otherwise, without proving themselves resolved, at any rate, to continue the war. All that I know, is, that such was the result of the deliberation. The official document exists in the hands of the Minister for Foreign Affairs ; and it proves, that on this, as on every other point, *you imposed on the Legislative Body and the whole nation.*

Now that the Directory, no longer restrained by the fear of opposition, HAVE TAKEN OFF THE MASK ; now that they have declared they would not lay down their arms *till England should be exterminated* ; they have nothing left to do but to gloss over their fury for massacres with all that can seduce a people who place

implicit confidence in their leaders, and excite their enthusiasm in the cause. It is evident, on the other hand, that they persuaded the Dutch that it is merely on their account, and through a strict fidelity to their engagements to them, that they make this great sacrifice of peace and of national prosperity.

Confess, then, Bailleul, that if the practice of fidelity is only calculated for the *stupid*, the term is at least convenient to men of talents. But you are not, perhaps, aware, that in holding this language you are making the Directory contract *never to treat with the English so long as they shall persist in retaining any part of their Dutch conquests*; that is, you are announcing to all France, that there remains no hope whatever of peace; that the honour of the nation requires that the Republic should no longer enjoy any commerce; that Martinique should be definitively sacrificed; the East India settlements irretrievably given up to Great Britain; and that our allies should be, in point of *fact*, completely sacrificed, provided that, in point of

right, neither they nor ourselves have given up the smallest portion of their territorial possessions. It clearly appears, that there are lawyers in the Executive Directory! And these are what are called *honourable proposals*, worthy of our *Republican directors*!

When the republican troops were defending Kehl with so much bravery, Carnot maintained that this fort could not be preserved, and that it was a folly to defend it. And yet, had not the long defence of that post detained the enemy's army before it, that army would have marched to the relief of the Imperial troops in Italy.'

In support of this assertion, I appeal to the *official papers*, whence it will appear with what effrontery this BAREFACED LIE is penned.—Let all the letters I have written on this subject be read, and it will be seen that I have a thousand and a thousand times laid down the necessity of defending Kehl to the last extremity. A great many lives, it is true, were sacrificed there; and had our *Republican directors* seen no

object in the defence of Kehl, but that of a single post, they would have sacrificed the whole army to preserve it, without knowing what advantage would be derived from it. This advantage I afterwards explained to them. The obstinacy with which I persisted in defending Kehl arose, in fact, from my wish to detain Prince Charles on the banks of the Rhine, by working upon his self-love, and thus to prevent him from marching into Italy. Prince Charles committed that grand error; and, in lieu of abandoning Kehl (where nothing could be done during the winter, on account of the snows that prevented the French from penetrating again into Swabia), and flying to relieve Mantua, he persisted in his determination to take this fort, and was too late to relieve that city.

The whole of this system is detailed in innumerable letters which I wrote, on this subject, to the army. But my colleagues, except Le Tourneur, did not even know their contents; they signed them confidentially; and I have, from time to time, joked with them on this

subject, and reminded them of their unjustly reproaching me on the subject of signatures, when I was a member of the Committee of Public Safety. But they then stood in need of my co-operation and support; and it was not till the danger was passed and there was nothing more to be done, that these *Republican and honourable directors* thought proper to send me to Guyana.

When Kehl was reduced to the last extremity, when Moreau dispatched a courier to inform us that he was losing a prodigious number of his troops, and that he was in danger of having his bridges destroyed and his retreat to Straßburg cut off, I proposed to empower that general to surrender the fort as soon as he should judge it indispensably necessary for the preservation of the army. But Reubel, who makes a sport of sacrificing the defenders of our country, who, detesting Moreau, was desirous of involving him in misfortunes, opposed the surrender of Kehl, and I had great difficulty in procuring permission to stop the effusion of human blood;

nor did I at length succeed but by rendering this Reubel, and his worthy rivals in cruelty, responsible for all that should be uselessly shed. The danger was so imminent that Moreau could not wait for this last answer, his bridges being broken and upon the point of giving way under his troops.

When the last passage over the Rhine was under discussion, Carnot continually retarded it, notwithstanding it was incessantly urged to him how useful this diversion would be to the army of Italy: he always maintained that this movement was impracticable, and that all was not ready, although the whole army can attest the contrary; he would not even admit of a feint of that nature, which would have drawn the imperial troops to that side, and would have relieved and encouraged the army of Italy, which was in a situation of distress. He even wrote to the army of Italy, that the army of the Rhine could not pass that river within two months at soonest. It was at this time that the Treaty of Leoben was concluded, wherein some sacrifices were consented

to, which would not have been necessary had the enemy been attacked on both sides at once. No sooner did the signature of that treaty transpire, than Carnot came forward instantly, with every arrangement ready for the passage of the Rhine, for which orders were given the very same day.'

There are no facts here stated but what are proved to be absurd by the *official papers*; and the major part are absolutely impossible.

The Treaty of Leoben was signed on the 18th of April, at a distance of nearly 300 leagues from Paris, where the news could not arrive till six days after at the soonest, that is, till the 24th.

But the passage of the Rhine took place on the 20th of April, and therefore was effected four days before the Treaty of Leoben was known at Paris, it could by no means, therefore, be resolved on in consequence of that intelligence arriving at Paris. LIARS, Bailleul, ought to be more accurate in calculating dates.

The passage of the Rhine took place two days after the signature of the Treaty of Leoben, consequently it was impossible it should be known either at Paris or at Strasburg. It follows, therefore, that the passage of the Rhine was neither ordered nor executed in consequence of the intelligence of the Treaty of Leoben being signed.

Do you not perceive, Bailleul, that your assertion resembles that of a certain honourable witness, who swore that he had seen a murder perpetrated by moon-light, on a night when there was no moon? This honourable witness, it is said, was, like you, honourable Bailleul, from Normandy! The Directory know how to chuse their agents: All that you have said is, nevertheless, proved by *official papers in the custody of the ministers*.

Not only the passage of the Rhine did not take place in consequence of an order given subsequently to the knowledge of the Treaty of Leoben, but all hostilities had already ceased upon the Rhine when the news of the Treaty of

Leoben arrived at Paris. A courier extraordinary, sent through Germany to the Generals of the army of the Rhine, produced this cessation of hostilities.

In consequence of what orders then did Moreau pass the Rhine on the 20th of April? He must necessarily have acted either in conformity to orders given long before, which could not till then be obeyed; and therefore YOU LIE when you say that no former orders existed, or it was in consequence of recent orders. But as the Rhine was in fact passed on the 20th of April, the orders must at the latest have left Paris on the 17th, and therefore the most recent orders that could have been given for the passage of the Rhine, must have been at least seven days anterior to the earliest intelligence that could arrive at Paris of the Treaty of Leoben. This all Europe knows, honest Bailleul, yet even this does not prevent you from declaring, in the face of all Europe, and that from *official papers in the hands of the ministers*, that the passage of the Rhine was ordered merely in consequence

of the intelligence of the signature of the Treaty of Leoben.

Let us now examine the *honourable* consequences of your officious lies, with regard to our *Republican directors*.

The intelligence of the Treaty of Leoben having arrived at Paris, at the soonest, on the 24th of April, as I have proved, and the orders to pass the Rhine having been given, as you assert, on the same day, there were on the 24th orders ready signed by the Executive Directory for passing the Rhine; but the Rhine being passed on the 20th, the news of that movement arrived at Paris on the 22d; that is to say, I proposed to the Directory to order the army to pass the Rhine two days after all Paris knew the Rhine had been actually passed, and the Directory signed this order. Much to the honour of the *Republican directors* — and to the honour of yourself, J. Ch. Bailleul !!!

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And the Directory signed this order without remembering, that, on the 17th of April, that is, seven days before, they must have signed a similar order, since in fact the Rhine had been passed on the 20th. Yet they saw me come forward instantly *with every arrangement ready*, without remembering that seven days before they had already seen me come forward in the same manner *with every arrangement ready*. Thus, then, were the *Republican directors* perfectly well informed of the affairs of the Republic! And all this is proved *by official papers in the hands of the ministers!* If you are not *stupid*, honest Bailleul, you are at least sometimes rather simple!

I am aware, honest Bailleul, how tedious these odious calculations must appear to you; but allow me to pursue them a little farther, they are necessary for my justification; and I am fully convinced you are very happy, as well as the Directory, that I am able to prove my innocence!

The whole army, you say, can attest that every preparation had been made long before for passing the Rhine, and that they were only waiting for the orders of the Directory. But, since the triumvirate, honest Bailleul, knew this, why did they not, without regarding my objections, give orders for the passage of the Rhine? Did they not form a majority in the Directory? Have you not, in the preceding article, declared that it was contrary to my opinion that they had caused the fortress of Kehl to be defended to the last extremity? Why, then, did they not also cause the Rhine to be passed contrary to my opinion? I had made a treaty of peace against the opinion of Reubel; surely he might have given orders for a military operation without my interference! How can they explain this complaisance, for a man by whom they knew they were deceived. If they were not yet perfectly certain that every thing was prepared for passing the Rhine, although *the whole army can prove that every thing was ready*, could they not inform themselves of the fact by sending thither a confidential person? Could they not, as

you have ingeniously said, *make a feint at least of passing the Rhine*? Did this neglect arise from their pusillanimity, their carelessness, or their treachery? It is to you, honest Bailleul, that I leave the decision of this question.

The passage of the Rhine, you say, was ordered the same day that intelligence arrived of the Treaty of Leoben; but do you observe, honest Bailleul, the encomium you hereby bestow on the fidelity and honour of the Directory, of which you so loudly boast? Having learnt that a treaty is concluded, the very first act they perform is to give orders for the violation of it: — they give orders for a bloody battle the very moment they receive intelligence of the cessation of hostilities!

But supposing, as you would artfully insinuate, that the official news of the Treaty had not yet arrived, that it had only *transpired*; was not a rumour, spread abroad among the public, a sufficient inducement to wait a few hours for the arrival of the courier with dispatches, before

orders for new massacres were issued? I had; therefore, sufficient ground for saying, that these humane directors sported with the lives of men, as you, honest Bailleul, sport with truth, and principal, and honour.

Produce this letter which you say I wrote on the very day the news of the Treaty of Leoben arrived. You deny that any orders were previously given to pass the Rhine, although innumerable orders to that effect exist in the official papers. You assert with the boldest effrontery, that orders were given on that very day, whereas the fact is evidently absurd and impossible. Thus do you accumulate lies and contradictions with equal impudence and folly. Most assuredly you deserve to be made an ambassador, or your lords and masters are unpardonably ungrateful!

Observe, honest Bailleul, that I have no official papers to refer to. I deny the facts, however, because I can rely with certainty on my memory; and I demonstrate your impostures, because you have been awkward enough, notwith-

standing the time you have employed, and calculated so ill, that you have left me the means of proving them physically impossible. The Directory have every thing in their own hands, and may make use of whatever suits their purpose, and lay aside what opposes it, putting half sentences in Italics, in order to distort the meaning. The mere want of accusation, after so elaborate an exertion, would suffice to prove my innocence, in the eyes of every reasonable person. I wonder they have not caused spurious papers to be fabricated, and my signature to be forged; for they are, like you, above those idle scruples, which are calculated only for the *stupid*.

But, whether they fabricate spurious papers or not, '*truth and time, that reveal all things*' (as you very justly remark, in p. 6), will ultimately prevail, and thus the biters will be bit. Those must expect to meet with many rocks, who take so much pains to embark on a sea of perfidy. I have demonstrated their HORRID LIES: how, then, can they dare to expect that they

shall be any longer believed? A word or two more on the Rhine, Bailleul, and I will then dismiss this subject, which, I am sensible, must have made you *sweat* already.

What! did the directors who, as they themselves confess, have so long been planning in *their wisdom* the means of ruining me; who, for this purpose, carried on a private correspondence in the army; did the directors let this happy opportunity escape! What! did they omit to make the palace of the Directory resound with the cry of their indignation, when I had the cruelty to propose the gratuitous massacre of several thousand men! Yet, not one among them all rose to accuse me; or, assuming that superiority which every man must feel over a criminal whom he surprizes in the very fact, exclaimed, 'Wretch! we have, during two whole months, pressed and conjured you to order that the Rhine be passed, yet you have always raised insurmountable difficulties; and now that we receive intelligence of the signature of a treaty, which procures for the Republic that peace for

which we have so long been panting, you coldly recommend the violation of the Treaty, and the fruitless massacre of the defenders of our country ! ’

‘ My colleagues ! (he would have continued, addressing the rest of the directors) I demand that the words I have just pronounced be recorded in the *procès-verbal*, as a ground for the future conviction of the criminal, and I recommend to you to follow my example. I demand that a message be immediately sent to the Legislative Body to denounce this traitor and prepare an act of accusation.”

What could I have replied to this charge ? Who, in that body, would have dared to have opened his mouth in my favour ? Had any one attempted to defend me, would he not have been immediately hissed down, and compelled to be silent ? What corner of the world would have offered me an asylum against the furies that would have pursued me, or the Promethæan vulture that would have gnawed my liver ?

On the contrary, what was the fact? Each of these benignant directors signed, without hesitation or observation, the fatal order for a massacre, and dispatched it to the army the very same day. Parricidal directors! it is evident you would really have signed those abominable orders, had they been offered to you for signature. In the blindness of your fury, you do not even perceive that you are accusing yourselves; the confession of the crime escapes you unawares. You miss your prey, are caught in your own snare, and remain bound to the stake of ignominy — AND THERE MAY YOU REMAIN !!!

And yet all France does not rise with one accord against these monsters of iniquity! And yet France calls itself free!! And the Legislative Body remains unoppressed!!!

Never was an operation urged with so much ardour, as the passage of the Rhine by me. The triumvirs, who, as I have said, never knew the extent of our resources; who, like

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Xerxes, would willingly have flogged the Rhine, the sea, and all the elements that opposed the least resistance to their will; lol-ling at ease on their couches, declared that the Rhine *must* be passed — but how this was to be effected gave them very little concern. The Rhine is not to be forded, and bridges were necessary. Moreau asked for a very trifling sum of money, which was indispensably necessary for their construction. This money, which the Minister of Finances was continually saying should immediately be sent off, or was actually sent, never arrived. At length, Moreau determined to come himself to Paris to wrest it from the Treasury. I prevailed with him to set off on his return immediately, and risk a blow, even were he not prepared for it. Moreau, however, had no need of being pressed on this point. Never had the Republic a more faithful or a more modest servant. He returned, and the passage of the Rhine was executed! He astonished no one, except the enemy. In France, they were fatiated with victory. I did not myself expect so rapid a success. To avoid deceiv-

ing the Army of Italy, and prevent them from advancing too far, before succours could arrive ; in short, to prevent them from placing themselves *in a dangerous predicament* (read over your accusation once more, Bailleul), it was requisite that I should transmit them an accurate account of what I learned from the Rhine, and, consequently, inform them that all was not yet ready, nor would be for some time.

The passage of that river, however, was executed quicker than could have been expected, or even hoped ; for they hazarded a great deal, merely to rescue the Army of Italy from its *dangerous predicament*. But, assuredly, had the Army of Italy even been apprized by a telegraph, that the Rhine would be passed in two days, it would have been no less necessary to conclude the Treaty of Leoben. Joubert, notwithstanding his more than human resistance, notwithstanding his gigantic combats, was nevertheless forced in the Tyrol ; the enemy entered Triest ; and the army was threatened on both its flanks, and harrassed in its rear, by the

insurgents of the Venetian territories, who were waiting, with poniards, a favourable moment for our extermination.

At length, the Army of the Sambre and Meuse passed the Rhine, on the very day when the Treaty of Leoben was signed. Was this step also taken because they had received intelligence of the signature of the Treaty? Yet this army was the only one that was in a condition to push the enemy with vigour, since it was at the gates of Frankfort when the courier arrived, through Germany, to inform it of the Treaty of Leoben, and cause hostilities to cease.

When the Preliminaries of Leoben were received at Paris, I rejoiced at beholding the return of peace to bless my country; and Le Tourneur participated my rejoicings: but the triumvirs groaned with vexation. *Réveillière* was as furious as a tiger, and *Reubel* sighed deeply; while *Barras*, though he highly disapproved the Treaty, yet declared that it ought, nevertheless, to be accepted. On one of the following days,

unable to contain his rage, he suddenly arose, and, addressing himself to me like a madman, “ *Yes (said he) it is to you that we are indebted for the infamous Treaty of Leoben.*” To which I replied, that I exulted in having contributed to put an end to the horrors of war. And Reubel made a sign to Barras, to intimate that it was impolitic to attribute to me all the honour of the pacification.

Finally, Bailleul says, as his last charge—

‘ *In another point of view, Carnot arrested the progress of the consideration which the Republic was acquiring abroad. Under pretext of a mistaken economy, the real tendency of which was to degrade the Republic, he proposed not to appoint any ambassadors; he would only have employed chargés d’affaires: the consequence would have been, that the envoys of the Republic would have held the lowest rank at every court — whereas, the ambassadors of France have the precedence of all others, except those of the Germanic Confederation !*’

I have already observed that truth itself is transformed into a lie, when it passes through the impure organs of THESE THREE TYRANTS and their tools. This is an additional confirmation of my assertion.

It is true I thought it would be advantageous, for a considerable time, to abstain from sending ministers and ambassadors to the various courts, *excepting those where we could nearly dictate the law ; as, for instance, in Piedmont, in Holland, and in Spain :* and this I proposed to the Directory. But the motive of economy was but a very inferior consideration. The true reason I assigned was, that the Republic having humiliated all the other powers by their victories, it was to be feared that, peace being once made, those of the powers who were beyond our reach would show their resentment for this humiliation, if not by direct insults, at least by expressions of pointed indignities, towards our ambassadors, and by marked preferences of the envoys of the royal courts, highly offensive to the Republic. That hence we should be ex-

posed either to take up arms to revenge these outrages, or shamefully to put up with the affront. It appears to me, that the events which have since taken place, the innumerable insults to the national flag, and the violences committed on the very persons of our envoys (although the great work of peace is not yet completed), are no small justifications of this train of argument.

I am aware how displeasing this must be to those who are suing for embassies at the hands of the Directory; but the little ceremony they use towards every foreign minister, of whom they think they have any cause of complaint, exposes them to reprisals, the dangerous effects of which I was desirous of preventing.

Thus it appears, that so far from endeavouring to degrade the Republic, it was from a desire that we should not lose our consideration abroad, that I proposed to continue some years without sending ambassadors to the distant courts; and that the Directory, attributing my proposal to

motives which they well knew were not my genuine reasons — here again **LIE** with their accustomed perfidy.

But, how are nations degraded? not, I imagine, by endeavouring to foresee and prevent whatever might become a subject of humiliation, or destroy the pledge of their tranquillity; not, I imagine, by endeavouring to place it in that prosperous situation, in which the display of their strength, being proportioned to their reproductive resources, insures the stability of their government.

No: a nation is degraded by its representatives, when they abuse the office they fill, in order to deceive it by the most execrable impostures, and proscribe the most faithful defenders of its interests.

They are degraded when they are misled, and rendered unprincipled, hardened, and corrupted; when they are made to blush for their virtues, taught to trample all principle under their feet,

and when those who act conformably to the constitution are branded with the epithet of *stupid*.

They are degraded, when they are robbed of all their rights, and an arbitrary and tyrannic system is substituted for the social compact they had accepted, and are told that this is liberty !

They are degraded, when the calumniators, the intolerant, and the shameless, obtain the title of true patriots ; when he whom the public voice points out as the greatest shuffler, the most depraved and the most despotic, is sure to be the man who obtains the confidence of the government.

They are degraded, when the servants of the people, betraying the sacred cause they had undertaken to defend, become the fabricators of their own slavery ; when we behold them fawning in the antichambers of the distributors of places ; when they are proud of humbling themselves to the dust, cover themselves with

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disgrace, and acknowledge, as an invariable maxim, that whoever respects the national representation is a royalist !

Thus it is, honest Bailleul, that a people are degraded, or, rather, that they would in time become so, were it possible that a nation of thirty millions of intrepid and generous citizens could be degraded by the depravity of their governors, and the baseness of a few faithless servants. No ! to that nation every thing that is grand and sublime belongs, nor can any thing that is great be performed but by their resistless mass ; while all the follies and littleneesses they seem to commit are but the work of a few individuals whom alone they can dishonour.

Thus have I detailed the act of accusation drawn up by the Executive Directory. I have examined it charge by charge ; I have proved that each of these charges was the act of accusation of the Directory themselves, nor can all their resentment tear a single trophy from the monument of infamy I have been erecting to their

memory. Let them, on their part, erect another to immortalize their victory of the 18th Fructidor. The true friends of liberty must be desirous they should ; it is a triumph they are preparing for them : these monuments will, however, be one day destroyed, they will be carried away with a breath of air, like a Colossus with feet of crumbling clay, or like that statue which crushed the chimera of federation in the *Place des Invalids*. The 2d of September and the 31st of May were also at one time immortal days. But what are they now? They are precisely what the 18th Fructidor will one day become. Marat was carried in triumph to the Pantheon, and soon after his carcase was thrown into a common sewer; and such is THE FINAL JUDGEMENT THAT AWAITS THE TRIUMVIRS.

In the meanwhile I will endeavour to throw a few rays of light on the character of those hideous monsters. But to do this I must resume the act of accusation. The proofs must be had from the *honest Bailleul*, who will certify upon

his conscience (which is not that of a *stupid fellow*) that they are in the hands of the ministers ; that is to say, in the mouth of their cannon. *Republican directors* must certainly be believed upon their words. Every one knows it is by implicit faith that men are to be saved, especially the representatives of the people, and that there is a place called Guyana for infidels.

After six months then of laborious research, and after employing all the talents of their hired fabricators of documents, the *Republican Directory* have at length discovered—

1st, *That I denied that assassinations were committed* : — whereas all I have said or written proves diametrically the opposite to be the truth —whereas the Directory have in their own hands the papers I myself furnished for the prosecution and conviction of assassins—whereas it is this very *Republican Directory*, who have sheltered these assassins beneath their protecting wing, and have constantly refused to cause them to be punished.

2d, *That I opposed the dismissal of Willot :—* whereas the *Republican directors* formed a majority in the Directory, and consequently retained Willot in place, notwithstanding the conviction they declare themselves to have felt, that Willot was a murderer and a cut-throat.

3d, *That I had every day secret and confidential interviews with Pichegru :—* whereas I never saw Pichegru but once by appointment, and then not in secret or confidentially, and once more by chance for two minutes in the presence of ten witnesses, and without speaking to him—whereas I did all I could by indirect means to induce him to decide in favour of the patriots.

4th, *That I was the advocate of kings and of the emperor :—* whereas I voted for the death of Louis, made every other king tremble, and stormed the imperial throne—whereas it was the *Republican directors* who, having during five months resisted the conclusion of a treaty which was advantageous for the republic, at last concluded a treaty that renders the emperor more

powerful than ever, and such as might have been expected had his troops been constantly victorious in Italy.

5th, *That I supported the political existence of the Pope*:—whereas by making peace with Naples, notwithstanding the opposition of the *Republican directors*, I robbed the Pope of the only support by which he could maintain his political existence—whereas I proposed to the *Republican directors*, who were averse to the measure, to strip the Pope of his temporal power, in order to transfer it to another power (Spain), that might have become a counterpoise to the House of Austria, and annihilated his pretensions to the titles of Emperor and King of the Romans; titles which will ere long be realised in that house, after having cost France a great deal of blood: and all this arising from the measures of superlative wisdom and foresight pursued in Italy by our *Republican directors*.

6th, *That I was desirous to convert all our conquests into kingdoms, and particularly to re-*

vive the kingdom of the Lombards :—whereas, on the contrary, I proposed to our *Republican directors*, who were averse to the measures, to turn our conquests to advantage in order to aggrandize the French republic, to convert into a republic an extensive country of the new world, which languishes under the dominion of a king—whereas our *Republican directors* have *royalized a republic* which was among our *conquests*, by delivering up Venice to the Emperor !

7th, *That I was desirous of sacrificing Holland* :—whereas it was our *Republican directors*, who, full of *fidelity* and honour, were resolved to plunder that nation—whereas it was they who there systematically maintained anarchy and disorder—whereas it was they, who boast of *acknowledging no law but the law of the strongest*—whereas it is certain, and will be proved so by the event, that the plan of the *Republican directors*, who are so full of *fidelity* and honour, is to unite with England, with England that is a kingdom, with England, whose extermination

they have sworn, in sharing the plunder of the possessions belonging to the *Batavian republic!*

8th, *That I opposed the defending Kehl as long as it was possible to defend it:—*whereas the *Republican Directory* have in their hands the orders given by me, and a thousand times repeated, to defend Kehl to the last extremity—whereas it would be to themselves, who formed a majority of the Directory, that the crime was to be imputed, had Kehl not been defended as it ought to have been.

9th, *That I would not give orders for the last passage of the Rhine till we had received intelligence of the Treaty of Leoben:—*whereas the Rhine was passed on the very day of the signature of the Treaty of Leoben (which is 300 leagues from Paris) by the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and two days after by that of the Rhine and Moselle—whereas all Paris knew of the passage of the Rhine two days before they could receive any intelligence of the Treaty of Leoben — whereas our *Republican directors*

accuse themselves of the twofold crime, 1st, of having themselves, who formed the majority, neglected to give orders for passing the Rhine at the time when, according to them, it was practicable and necessary; and, 2d, of having given orders for that manœuvre at a time when it could only tend to the massacre of the defenders of the country, to the violation of the laws of nations, and to revive the flames of war at the very moment when the war was brought to a conclusion.

10th, *That, to rob the Republic of its consideration abroad, I proposed the not sending ambassadors to the various courts:—*whereas our *Republican directors* well know that, on the contrary, my motive was to prevent the Republic from losing its consideration abroad—whereas it is they who, by their puerile haughtiness of conduct towards the envoys of foreign courts, expose those of the Republic to humiliating retaliations, and the Republic itself to the perpetual danger either of suffering unrepented degradations, or of renewing the war, and that nume-

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rous examples have proved the justice of my fears in this respect!

I ask, therefore, do not the fabricators of such an act of accusation deserve *that men should spit in their faces, horfewhip them in all the streets and squares of Paris, affix labels on their backs and on their breasts, with the words IMPOSTORS, MISCREANTS, ASSASSINS, and send them to the Pantheon of Marat, to enjoy the immortality they have merited?—And is not the impunity of these MONSTERS an irrefragable proof that FRANCE IS UNDER THE YOKE OF THE MOST ABJECT SLAVERY?*

The system pursued by the Directory is by no means ambiguous to any one who has attentively observed their proceedings: their system is evidently to found the power of the nation less on the aggrandisement of the Republic, than on the weakness and destruction of its neighbours; to fight them one against another, to treat them as friends so long as they may have occasion to paralyse them by exhausting all the

succours they can yield, and when the time is come for crushing them, instantly to employ their fertile genius in inventing sufficient pretexts to practice the fable of the Wolf and the Lamb.

Let us but attend to their conduct towards the little Cantons of Switzerland. Here it was not the oligarchy of Berne they had to contend with; it was not those against whom so many grievances were alleged; it was not those Cantons that had a treasure of thirty millions, and a magnificent arsenal;—No, it was the true children of William Tell, real democrats, poor men almost destitute of any traffic, even with their neighbour! No matter, they must be revolutionized. Consequently, that liberty which has rendered them happy during a period of 500 years, that liberty which has so long been the envy of France, is now proved not to be the liberty their welfare requires; no, they must chuse between the constitution that is presented to them and death. They refused this constitution, which they found less demo-

cratical than their own, and therefore they were massacred; for it is clear that nothing but fanaticism and intrigues could dissuade them from accepting this pledge of their new-fangled felicity. To kill them is indeed the surest means of preventing them from believing priests and intriguers! This handful, however, of simple men, who have during 300 years been utter strangers to fighting, dare to resist their invaders; their republican blood is mingled with that of the republicans of France, not jointly to defend the sacred rights of nations, but gratuitously to massacre each other.

O impious war! in which the Directory seem to have had no other object than to know how many victims they could sacrifice to their caprice, from among the free, the poor, and the most virtuous part of mankind; to assassinate Liberty in her native soil, and to punish the mountains of Helvetia for having given her birth. Worthy rivals of Grissler; the triumvirs were determined to exterminate the race of William Tell: and by them was the death of

the tyrant to be revenged. The heads of the democratic families were offered up to his manes; they died defending the frontiers of their little territory, and resisting the violation of their own homes. Their affrighted flocks fled to the deserts; the Glaciers resounded with the cries of orphans perishing with hunger; and the sources of the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Adda, bore the tears of disconsolate and despairing widows to the most distant seas!

Happily for me, I cannot be accused of having been a party to these disgraceful transactions. Had I been a member of the Directory at that time, against me would the accusation have been one day brought forward. May the political consequences of these transactions never prove fatal to France!

Formerly, even in time of war with foreign powers, the frontiers of Switzerland, from Hunningen to Geneva, were disarmed, because the fidelity and the neutrality of the Cantons were deemed perfectly secure; but now that

frontier will always require FORTY THOUSAND men, partly to occupy Switzerland itself, and partly to preserve the neighbouring departments, which are destitute of military posts !

It was by their industry, and their virtue, that the democratic Cantons of Switzerland maintained their political existence. *It is impossible these poor countries should long be able to support a foreign army, and the expences of an administration less popular and more costly than their former government.* I have already observed that there can be no stability in a state, whatever be the nature of its constitution, unless there exists an equilibrium between the exertion of its resources and its reproductive powers. This equilibrium is evidently destroyed in Switzerland ; it is also equally destroyed in the Cisalpine Republic, in that of Genoa, and in Rome. Each of these countries consume more than they annually receive from nature. Thus as soon as the funds, on which those governments subsist, are exhausted, new troubles and disorders will immediately arise. What will then be the issue, I

know not ; but I hope it will not be *a new war of EXTERMINATION FOR THE FRENCH REPUBLIC !*

France herself, if this equilibrium is not restored between her receipts and her expenditures, *will infallibly experience new shocks*. But in France it is not nature that refuses the means of subsistence ;—on the contrary, she lavishes them in abundance, and a deficiency could only arise from the defects of the administration.—*Had France, instead of the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, concluded a general peace, her prosperity would at this day have surpassed that of the happiest nations recorded in history ; but at this moment she is on the verge of inevitable ruin, unless her eyes are speedily opened to the situation of her finances — unless the foundation of a wise system of political economy is speedily laid.*

The same line of conduct is adopted by the Directory within as they have pursued without. They consider themselves in the same point of

view, with regard to the citizens of France, as they consider the Republic with regard to other powers; they consider them but as so many enemies, on the weakening and division of whom their authority can alone be founded. Instead of labouring, from the moment of their creation, to unite the hearts of the people, and rally them around the Constitution; instead of pouring balm into the wounds occasioned by a long and bloody revolution; they irritate their passions afresh, and make odious nicknames the order of the day. They send the torch of discord into the bosom of the Legislative Body; the most violent expressions are lavished in the messages of the Directory, in harangues that are totally foreign to domestic affairs, and even in the most familiar discourses. Their armies are seduced, and their minds inflamed; they are become a deliberative body. The bitterness of gall is spread abroad by means of the newspapers, and they employ under them the vilest of creatures—men to whom no one would confide the most trifling of his personal concerns. Thus was the

immortal day concluded, 'a funeral veil extended over the rights of man, and the Constitution stabbed to its vitals !

The resolution to mutilate the national representation was formed from the time of the election to the year V. It was Reubel who conceived the plan ; and the rest acquiesced in it, when the particulars were explained, and the success represented as infallible.

This plan being once adopted and decided on, they began elaborately to search for pretexts to justify the transaction they were '*meditating in their wisdom*;' and these pretexts the leading members in the Council of Five Hundred but too amply furnished them with. The favours granted to the enemies of the revolution ; the refusal of justice to the patriots, however pure their characters ; the degradation of every thing that related to the executive power ; the shackles every where prevailing ; the unjust reproaches and absurd interpretations of all the proceedings

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of the Directory; lying reports on the finances; insults; menaces; refusal of every means of acting with advantage;—these are the crimes with which the leading members of the Council have to reproach themselves!

But how many of these leaders were there? They did not amount to fifteen. *All that was necessary was to exclude them from the committees, and this was the line of conduct that would have been pursued by every wise and enlightened man.* They even began to put this plan in execution, and the Directory trembled lest any arrangement should be adopted whereby the minds of the people would have been calmed; for then, perhaps, they would have been at a loss for pretexts to justify, or means to execute, their grand designs.

The perpetrators of crimes, however, were triumphant; and, as in all other conspiracies, every one of the conspirators inserted his personal enemies in the lists of proscriptions, without opposition from his accomplices. Thus Octa-

vius, Anthony, and Lepidus, reciprocally gave up to each other's revenge those who were their dearest and most faithful friends!

Had not terror petrified the representatives of the people; had not a military force surrounded them; or, rather, had not the parts in the farce been previously distributed to the actors; they would have refused to deliberate till the liberty of the Legislative Body was restored. But, even supposing fear could force those to deliberate who refused, it would have been enough had they observed that the assembly ought to confine themselves to the arrest of the accused members; since, as far as regarded the public safety, this accusation would produce the same effect as their condemnation; a procedure which in no wise belonged to the Legislative Body, and of which the reporter himself declared he could not assign the grounds. But who could have prevented this proposition from being adopted, had they been possessed of proofs, had they not been reduced to declare, like Bailleul, that '*we do*

not attempt to prove the existence of light, and that they would imagine they had but feebly apprehended the intentions of the Legislative Body, if they came forwards with proofs or furnished justifications !

On this occasion, they spoke of the *constitutional jury* of Sieyès as of a means that might have prevented the events of the 18th Fructidor, but this idea was destitute of the least foundation ; the constitutional jury would themselves have been exiled as well as the representatives of the people and the members of the Directory. I know of no social compact that can resist the attacks of cannon ; no work sufficiently solid to continue unimpaired, when those who are appointed its guardians are sacrilegious enough to destroy it themselves !

But if at some future period when the people of France shall have burst their fetters, and the representatives shaken off the lamentable oppression under which they groan, these saviours of their country and their accomplices should be

dragged to trial for the immortal day, could they with any justice complain when they are told, " You are brought before this tribunal for having '*meditated in your wisdom,*' and, in your love for the constitution, effected the dissolution of the Legislative Body, and for acts of tyranny worthy of Louis XI. of Christiern, and of Cromwell. You shall be dealt with in the very same manner, and with the very same weight you have used towards others. Thus are you first of all condemned, and now you are allowed to enter on your defence. But this you must consider is a particular favour, for you have refused it to others, even after their proscription."——

" What proofs," could they say, " are brought against us ? "—'*We do not attempt to prove the existence of light,*' would be the answer.——

" But why deny the people, who are anxious to be informed, the demonstration of our crimes ? "—

' *We are not come to adduce proofs or furnish justifications.*' — " But we demand the observance of the constitutional laws."—'*Let us banish those absurd theories of pretended principles, those stupid invocations of the constitution.*'——" Are we

then to be put to death? ” — ‘ No, we are full of humanity, and you will not be put to death, because we have but a very few of you in our power, and we will not dip our hands in blood for so trifling an object ; and besides, we know not what effect it would have upon the people. It is merely an experiment we are making. We want no blood, at present a copious flow of tears will satisfy us. We know this is a grand means of succeeding in our experiment. You shall only be exiled, and your families ruined ; for it is perfectly just, that children at the breast should be punished for the crimes of their fathers.— If your co-operators in the counter-revolution, whom we have not in our power, will have the goodness to go to Rochefort to be embarked for transportation, the property of their relations shall be restored, until the necessities of the state shall oblige us to pronounce their final confiscation. We had at first intended to send you to Madagascar ; but, as it is said the inhabitants of that island no longer devour men, we have determined to send you to Guyana, where you will be furnished with implements of husbandry.

and will be very happy. Thus you see how mild and merciful we are. But the manners that prevail in this Republic are too effeminate. We will act better, when we shall have wound up the public opinion to its proper pitch, which we hope to accomplish by influencing the next elections, as ought to be the practice in every free country. You will farther observe, that in your act of accusation, where the principal charges are intirely the offspring of our own invention, you are not all expressly named. This formality did not appear necessary to the *Republican dictators*, because it is not your names but your persons that are condemned. It is true we would guillotine the lowest officer of police who should make such a rhapsody; this degree of perfection belongs exclusively to the supreme authorities. It has been invented expressly for this new session of the revolutionary tribunal, which has indulgently brought you to their bar. Thank us, then, for this elegant discourse, the appositeness of which is as striking as that of your grand master Réveillière's to the Cisalpine

ambassador, when he received him, and then —
 Depart, go about your business.'

Perhaps some of the representatives were really guilty; perhaps some among them were really royalists. Why not suspend them, and bring them to trial according to the forms of the constitution? It would have been a great and a striking example. "But, in the midst of a vast plot and conspiracy on the point of execution, we cannot adhere to legal forms, without incurring the greatest danger." This was the very reason why the Directory have given to the secret and impotent manœuvres of a few individuals the show of a conspiracy, the thread of which extended to the most distant corners of the Republic. It was the next morning they were to be massacred. The very next day the Republic was no longer to exist. It was the Genius of Liberty alone that had inspired the resolution to fly to arms, for the indispensable calls of self-defence. The outposts of the Directorial palace had already been forced, although

the Directory had long been meditating '*in their wisdom*,' that immortal day for which their orders were already drawn up and their proclamations printed:

They were determined then to rid themselves of two hundred members of the two councils; but how could this be accomplished without separating them, by some previous operation, from the Legislative Body? The supposition of a vast plot and conspiracy was, therefore, indispensably necessary to the success of the scheme the Directory were meditating '*in their wisdom*;' and who can blame them for having done what was indispensably necessary?

It was equally indispensable, that after the execution of this scheme they should justify it in the eyes of the public; and that the truth, and the facts, being against them, they should call in the aid of lies. How ~~can~~ they be accused on this account? When lies are necessary, are they not also excusable? Would it not be *stupidity* itself, to be scrupulous on such an occasion?

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In short, a crime was become necessary to save the commonwealth. Than this, nothing can be more evident. '*We do not attempt to prove the existence of light.*' A second crime was necessary to justify the former, a third to justify the second, a series, an accumulation of every crime was become indispensable to conceal these horrors. Thus, are these horrors in fact no horrors, and these crimes no crimes: they are the virtues of the Directory who, amidst all their crimes, cannot be charged with the guilt of *stupidity*.

I venerate, as their merits deserve, men who are distinguished for their *virtues*! But, I would thank any one who would have the goodness to inform me, how three villains would have acted in their place had they wished to become masters of the Republic, and execute their proscription-lists? I would ask, in what respect would the conduct of these miscreants have differed from that of the *virtuous* directors? I would inquire, whether they would not have made precisely the same use of the words republic, royalism, liberty, and fidelity; whether

they would not have associated the same co-operators in their noble labours; whether they would not have justified their actions by still more atrocious calumnies; and proved the criminality of their victims by saying, that '*we do not attempt to prove the existence of light?*'

The celebrated Mandrin also boasted of his humanity: when he had brought about an 18th Fructidor in the recesses of some remote forest; when he had robbed the passengers on the highway, he did not always kill them, and, above all, he did not calumniate them after he had plundered them of their property! He also adopted the sublime principles of the *honest Baillaul*. He would in case of need, with the assistance of a special committee, composed of the most distinguished of his gang, have adduced *luminous* proofs that the passengers had only come there with an intention of murdering him, and that they had already forced his outposts. Retiring with his protecting comrades to share the spoil of their *immortal day*, he was willing the division should be made with a truly trium-

viral fidelity; and had he lived in these days, it may be doubted, whether the *Republican Directors* would not have preferred him to Augereau, for the execution of the scheme they had '*meditated in their wisdom.*' But then, virtuous and Republican Directors well know, that the great Mandrin at length received the just reward of his crimes.

'Very well' (some one will reply), 'you have demonstrated that the transactions of the 18th and 19th Fructidor were great political crimes; but tell us what ought to have been done in the critical circumstances in which we were placed? Tell us what we ought to do, when it clearly appears that a part of the Legislative Body are about to effect a counter-revolution, and that this part of that legislature is possessed of so much influence that they will carry every resolution they support, and negative every salutary measure?'

I reply, 1st, That they might have avoided this crisis, by more deference and tenderness

towards the Legislative Body, by sending them messages less harsh and imperious, by recalling some of the commissaries of the executive power, of whose ill-conduct these representatives adduced innumerable proofs ; in short, by showing a more sincere desire of making peace with the foreign powers, for that was the principal cause of the want of confidence in them. They feared that, by giving the Directory too much latitude, especially in financial resources, they would avail themselves of these merely to prolong the war, rather than to bring it to a speedy termination. It is certain that this line of conduct would have reconciled the greater number of the irritated representatives, and that the rest would have soon blushed at the shameful part they had been induced to act.

I answer, 2dly, that having by their haughtiness and impudence lost the opportunity of adopting this first mode, which however was the best, the misunderstanding being at length so great that every one was conscious of the danger he should individually incur, they ought

speedily to have applied themselves to conciliatory measures. The Legislative Body had already felt the necessity of adopting those measures, and had renewed their committees and their officers, and removed those who had abused the confidence reposed in them : the representatives, who were the best known for their good character and their talents, had ventured to oppose all their incidental motions which threw the Council of Five Hundred into disorder, that it might exclusively attend to questions of higher importance, and chiefly to the restoration of the finances. Here indeed it is, that the greatest reproach must fall on the Executive Directory, as the smallest motion on their part would have reunited the majority of the representatives to them : but so far from taking this line of conciliatory conduct, or even endeavouring to discover what would produce that effect, the Directory dreaded lest a reconciliation should take place. They laboured with incredible activity daily to augment the causes of discontent and of alarm, and were fearful their deep-laid plots and preparations should prove fruitless. In

short, they were determined on the execution of the grand scheme they had so long been '*meditating in their wisdom.*'

I reply, 3dly, that the evil having once become irremediable, a 20th of June was more wanted than a 31st of May. The patriotic representatives then ought to have presented an address to the people of France, wherein they should have demonstrated with energy the continual violations of the constitution, and proved that a part of the councils were determined to subvert it. They ought at the same time to have demanded of the Directory, who, like them, had sworn to support the constitution, to afford them an asylum against the tyranny of these declared enemies of the Republic, to protect them by force, and to provide for their personal security in their character of representatives of the people. This proceeding would have been incontestably adopted by a majority of the councils, or at least by all those whom the Directory thought worthy of continuing in it after the 18th Fructidor. From that moment the Legislative Body

could not be dissolved : the Directory could no longer have operated, or of their own authority removed those who displeased them by the canon and the bayonet, forced the rest to deliberate by terror, and erected them into a revolutionary tribunal. But, on the contrary, the majority of the representatives would have sought for refuge against the violence of the minority, under the protection of an armed force, that their deliberations might be free. The public would have seen, on the one hand, this wise majority, with the victory on its side, both in intention and sentiment ; and on the other, a pitiful and naked minority, a minority to whom the agitation which reigned there from the beginning of the new session, was already imputed. What could this minority have done ? It would have been immediately abandoned by all parties, its members would have been shamefully dispersed, and would never have re-appeared ; every citizen would have applauded this constitutional measure, the public opinion would have rallied freely and without fear around the legislative body and the Directory, and if there were

among those who had been dismissed any who were charged with positive crimes, they would have been constitutionally tried by the high national court, where they would have been condemned with universal applause, because the eyes of the public would then have been completely opened.

Such would have been their conduct had their object been the preservation of their country, had not ambition, jealousy, and revenge been the secret springs of all their actions. It would then have been unnecessary to have procured addresses from the Army of Italy, it would then have been unnecessary to have surrounded Paris with the Army of the Sambre and Meuse, it would have been unnecessary to have taken the command of the 17th military Division from the brave Hatry to place it in the hands of a miscreant. Those whose views are honest have occasion only to employ honest means. To preserve a good constitution, we need only search among its own resources for the means of its preservation; and to pretend that it cannot be

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saved from its enemies except by plunging into the paths of tyranny, and into the defiles of iniquity, is to pronounce its condemnation : but this constitutional proceeding did not accord with the views of the Executive Directory, because that was not the road to the establishment of their Dictatorship ; because they could not then have destroyed all those who were included in their proscription-lists ; because many of those pretended counter-revolutionists, being obliged to decide, aye or no, would then have suddenly opened their eyes, and perceived the abyss to which their blind hatred towards their governors was dragging them ; they would have abjured their little passions, and at length emphatically declared themselves on the side of the patriots. Perhaps a ray of light might have darted on them, and the torch of discord being extinguished, France would have beheld a grand system of reconciliation, instead of universal mourning, and the most brilliant triumph of the constitution instead of its utter annihilation.

But it might be said, " If it was in fact the will of the majority of the representatives that the counter-revolution should take place ; those who, adopting what you have stated, separated themselves from the councils, and, were left in a minority, would have been considered by the public as a faction."

To this, I reply first, that even were this possible it was not so on the 18th Fructidor, since the expurgation made by the Directory only produced the exclusion of about two hundred members ; a very great majority therefore, even according to themselves, were for the support of the constitution, which, therefore, might have been saved by its own resources,

But to answer every objection, let us suppose for a moment, that it was the will of the majority of the legislative body that the counter-revolution should take place : then, I say, not only that insurrection is justifiable, but that it becomes a duty ;—and, can it be thence inferred that I would advise, that an act of the Legislative Body should be passed

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which would proclaim a king, or the constitution of 1793, or the outlawry of the members of the Directory? certainly not. But every insurrection imposes on those by whom it is espoused (especially when its partizans are any of the constituted authorities) two duties, the omission of which becomes either tyranny or high treason. The first is to demonstrate to the people, that the insurrection was indispensable to the preservation of the constitution, the annihilation of which could by no other means have been prevented. The second is to demonstrate, that every one whom the revolutionary movement destroys was truly and individually guilty. Neither of these duties were discharged by the Directory; and the law of the 19th Fructidor is no other than an outlawry (without any justifiable ground) of a part of the national representation, and of the first magistrates of the Republic.

In the first place, the Directory might have saved the constitution by its own resources, as I have already proved; but, as I have also demonstrated, they were far, very far, from em-

playing or endeavouring to discover the means it offered to prevent the blow aimed at its existence.

Secondly, They have not proved that each of the members included in the proscription was guilty; they have not stated any crime against the greater number, nor were their names even pronounced previous to their sentence of condemnation; which, as I just stated, was no other than an outlawry. After six months elaborate exertion, the chairman of the committee comes forward and declares to the council, that he has "no proofs to give, that the documents are in the hands of the ministers, and that we do not attempt to prove the existence of light."

But supposing it were even as clear as the light, that it was their intention to produce a counter-revolution, yet it is not as clear as the light that such and such individual members were among the conspirators; and this want of evidence is proved by the legislative body having erased several of its members from the list; hence, it ap-

pears, they were fully convinced that the Directory themselves were guilty of falsehood, or, at least, that they were in an error. And who can prove that the council would not have erased a still greater number had every member dared to speak, had they not been surrounded by a military force, or had they voted on each individual name by ballot?

Either proofs existed against each of the accused, or they did not; I do not mean legal but moral evidence, such as would convince every intelligent and honest man; if there did not, the Directory were guilty of an outrage against the national representation; if there did, they are now guilty of high treason for suppressing it. For, not only have they brutally violated the constitution, contaminated it by the poison of their touch, and destroyed the sacred forms which gave it, in the eyes of the people, a celestial dignity, but, by the horrid example of condemning men in a mass, without assigning the grounds of accusation, they have furnished weapons to all those who, in the critical circumstances which

they may have themselves produced, are desirous to take advantage of those very circumstances to proscribe their personal enemies. The immortal day of the 18th Fructidor is the archetype of all the days of calamity and horror which will succeed it; it will furnish a justification to every miscreant who, in future ages, shall tear the vitals of his country; yes, it will be an immortal day in the annals of crimes!

Thus are the Directory guilty of high treason, even should they be possessed of real proofs against each individual they have proscribed. If not, a worse alternative remains, and still more superlatively criminal is their conduct, should those which in fact exist, exculpate the accused and prove *them* guilty; or, should even *their* own assertions, as I have shown, demonstrate that they are continually contradicting themselves, and that, even were these assertions true, it would be the Directory themselves that would be chargeable with all the crimes which they impute to others. And can any rational being believe that, had they been possessed of

proofs, they would have omitted to produce them? They have produced all they did possess: nor have they spoken of papers in the hands of the ministers but in order to imply that they had farther evidence to adduce; when, on the contrary, by their artifice in drawing inferences from the facts they state, and by suppressing those which perhaps might have explained or extenuated the imputed criminality, they show that they have omitted no species of delusion that could favour their cause. But I have watched their duplicity, their insidious precaution, and their Machiavelian art too long, not to assert with confidence that the Directory have no other proofs than those they have published; and that '*all that is reserved,*' or '*deposited in the hands of the ministers,*' could only serve to weaken or belie the facts they have asserted.

What, then, remains to be done? I do not hesitate to declare (nor is it for myself I speak; the freedom of my language relative to the triumvirs is a sufficient proof that I have no de-

fire either to enjoy their indulgence or again to expose myself to their fury)—I do not hesitate to declare then, that the *persons proscribed ought to be recalled*. If their return is not effected by the operation of a law resulting from an emotion of generosity, it may one day be attended with the most fatal consequences.

It is impossible but that the heart of many a worthy man, from whom this act of tyranny was extorted by shame and terror, should be corroded with remorse, and that they should protest, as soon as it is in their power, against the outrage in which they had been forced to participate. It is impossible but that the nation, who are always just in the end, should not at last punish the real authors. I do not say, and I am very far from thinking, that the proscribed members ought to resume their seats in the Legislative Body. This would give birth to new calamities. No! I say that each of them ought to be restored to their domestic circles, as citizens under the protection of the law. The public opinion has already pronounced judge-

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ment on each of them in particular: it has distinguished the true criminals, if any there really are, from those (at least nineteen-twentieths of the number) whose minds are pure, and devoted to the Republic. The real criminals will live deprived of power, and happy in the oblivion of their baseness. Those whose conduct is irreproachable will not expose themselves to censure by asserting rights which still exist, because they have only been suspended by tyranny, but which, if these representatives were restored, would be eventually proscribed; because that restoration might give birth to new troubles. When the rights of the whole nation were covered with a funereal veil, could their representatives complain of the outrage exercised against theirs? I am aware of those declamatory maxims by which it is asserted that we should relax from none of our rights. Arguments are never wanting to justify the desires of ambition or the gratification of revenge. But I am also aware that still better reasons may be adduced for the sacrifice of such passions, especially when that sacrifice is indispensably necessary to the tran-

quillity of our country. The most glorious triumphs are those over our own self-love, because they satisfy it in a manner more affecting and durable.

So long as the Legislative Body shall defer this measure, they will prove, either that they are still under actual oppression, or, that the new members, who have succeeded those excluded on the 19th Fructidor, are afraid their predecessors should claim their seats ; — a littleness which cannot be attributed to the representatives of a great nation.

The Constitution was violated ; nor can any one venture to deny it : no one can attempt to prove that a crime which is committed is not committed. But we must not persist in rendering that crime perpetual ; it must not be converted into an inheritance, passing from one session to that which succeeds it, from one legislative generation to another.

In fact, there were two hundred members in the Councils who were enemies of the directors, but not of the Republic. The tyrants affected to confound the individual hatred of which they were themselves the sole object, with a hatred for liberty itself. Such, too, was the language of Robespierre. His private enemies were always those of the people, and the National Convention was but an assembly of conspirators. But, on the contrary, to hate tyrants is in fact the strongest proof of the love of liberty. Many of the representatives, no doubt, committed an error in not sacrificing their private animosities ; they did not perceive the danger to which their imprudence not only exposed the common weal, but in which also they were themselves involved.

I exerted myself to reclaim those with whom I was acquainted ; yet none of them were the leading members : none of them appeared to me to have formed a system for the destruction of liberty. No ; they were enlightened, coura-

geous, republicans ; but, unfortunately, in a state of exasperation. Others, it is true, attempted to visit me, and my door was open indiscriminately to all the representatives of the people ; but there were some who were deterred by the coldness of their reception. Two of the latter, addressed me in an ambiguous manner, and a third spoke expressly of outlawing the triumvirs. He asked me the effect it would produce ; the effect, said I, would be to reduce us to mere citizens, and impose on us the duties of insurrection against you : from the moment that you pronounce an outlawry against a single individual, you have annihilated the Constitution, you are no longer representatives of the people, you are tyrants, you are yourselves outlaws — a new revolution, a civil war, and your certain death, are the effects it will produce. This deputy, as may easily be imagined, did not repeat his visit.

During this period, the generous Directors were '*meditating in their wisdom*' how they should cut my throat. They prepared for this act, which

was so full of equity, of fidelity, and of honour, by the calumnies with which they filled the journals; — they endeavoured to justify it by the most palpable lies, and the most glaringly absurd, and blackest accusations, that could have been invented by the mind of man.

In the mean while, the crisis was approaching. I might have secured some chances in my favour, by throwing myself either into the one or the other of the prevailing factions; but I preferred exposing myself to almost certain destruction, by their concussion, and I shall never repent of the line of conduct I pursued.

When the triumvirs surrounded Paris, with a column of the Army of the Sambre and Meuse, Hoche came to visit me. I had with great difficulty saved his life in the time of Robespierre. I had restored him to liberty immediately after the 27th of July. And I had caused the three Western Armies to be united in one, that he might have the command of the whole, because I knew no man, except him, who could

terminate the war of La Vendée, and of the *Chouans*. All this he knew, and seemed to reproach himself with his injustice towards me, and his weakness, in suffering himself to be seduced into the party he had espoused. He then gave me to understand that he was retained in that party, in spite of his better judgement, by the influence of women: and it is certain that the women played a most active part in the Fructidorian Revolution.

I reproached him with this movement of the army, which had in no wise been approved of by the Directory; but he replied "that he could not undertake the expedition against Ireland without troops." You well know (said I), General, that there are 43,000 men upon the coasts; and of what use are these numerous troops of cavalry that you are bringing with you? "They are some regiments (said he) that I have formed myself, and which are extremely attached to me."

Hoche was a man of great abilities, and could not but be extremely dangerous, by taking any party whatever in political affairs.— I am of opinion that his old animosity against Pichegru may have contributed to determine what line of conduct he would pursue. For the military talents of that officer he affected a great degree of contempt. Their rivalry had commenced at the raising of the siege of Landau, when Pichegru (though protected by St. Just and Le Bas, then representatives of the people in the Army of the Rhine, and enjoying a great preponderancy) had, however, given up the chief command of the combined armies to Hoche (who was supported by Coste and Baudot, representatives of the people with the Army of the Moselle).

At the commencement of the war, Hoche, who was then but little known, sent a memorial to the Committee of Public Safety on the means of penetrating into Belgium. When I had read this memorial, I said, in the way of

conversation, to the Committee, "Here is a serjeant of infantry who will get forward." My colleagues asked me of whom I spoke. "Amuse yourselves," said I, "with perusing that memorial; for, although you are not officers, it will interest you." Robespierre took it up, and when he had read it said, "This man is extremely dangerous;" and I am of opinion it was from that very moment he resolved to destroy him.

A striking trait of the villany of the triumvirs appeared, when, having surrounded Paris with troops from the Army of the Sambre and Meuse, they declared that it was I who had given the orders for that manœuvre. They imagined this imposture would have an air of probability, because I was charged with the military correspondence, and was also at that time President of the Directory, and consequently had the signature of the whole. Hoche mysteriously exhibited a paper signed by me, and insinuated that it was an order for the marching of the troops. This order had, in fact, first been solicited under the pretext of the expedition against Ireland,

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and the application had been afterwards renewed, and supported by Reubel in particular, under that of new troubles among the Chouans. But I opposed it, because I knew that there were more troops than were necessary on the coast in the neighbourhood of Brest.

In fact, it was their intention that Paris should be surrounded with troops, and that it should appear to be done by my orders. It was only when the triumvirs believed they could derive credit from their crimes that these mysteries began to be cleared up, by their own avowal, that they had long been meditating these grand events *in their wisdom*, and that for this purpose they had carried on a correspondence in the armies.

Although terror had at length so far taken possession of the representatives of the people, that many of them no longer dared to sleep at their own homes, I did not cease to indulge some hopes till the very last moment. I even fancied they had only sent for Augereau merely

as a bugbear. I remembered what Reubel had told me at the time of the first journey of that General, when he had brought sixty standards that were taken from the enemy by the Army of Italy, "*He has much the appearance of a violent partizan.*" Said Reubel: "*What a ferocious miscreant!*" To the first part of his remark I readily assented, for his external appearance was that of a Marius, and his ostentation was hardly to be reconciled with republican simplicity or undeviating probity. But it may be presumed that he rather acted as an ambassador with the Directory, than as one of the Generals of the Army of Italy.

The parade he employed on this occasion would not have appeared blame-worthy, had he not, on the one hand, carried it to ridiculous lengths, and on the other, had not his ambitious views been too flagrantly apparent. The gold and the diamonds with which he was covered resembled the spoils of the vanquished, and the rings that loaded each of his fingers, reminded me of those which Annibal took from the Roman knights.

I had an opportunity of seeing him in private at my own house, where he gave me a very high idea of his military talents. He told me it was he alone who directed the affairs of Italy; that Bonaparte might one day become a good General, but that he was deficient in experience, that he had seen him almost lose his presence of mind in situations of delicacy, that he had extricated him from many dilemmas; in short, that it was himself who had *done every thing*.

Nor was it to me alone that Angereau spoke with this frankness respecting his own merit. He talked in the same style to all those who would listen to him, and the sycophants who filled their journals with such unbounded eulogiums on Bonaparte, so unworthy of that General's real merit, at the very same time panegyricised, in the most fulsome manner, the man who was claiming, without reserve, all the credit of his successes.

In the month of Fructidor, Augereau was flattered with the expectations of a place in the

Directory, as the reward of his assiduity in causing those to fall whose destruction was resolved on. But in this, not only himself, but all the representatives who were desirous of procuring him that elevation, were the dupes of the Directory. The triumvirs feared him because he would have been too powerful a colleague. He would soon have exclusively enjoyed the popular favour by his revolutionary exaggerations, and his disorganising propositions,

In general, *the more ignorant men are, the more factious* they become. This maxim has been strongly verified in all the national assemblies.

Of the triumvirs, Reubel is the only one who preserves a regular plan, or possesses any real knowledge; but he considers liberty as chimerical, and impossible to be established, and thinks no government can exist but the most absolute despotism. This maxim is his great rule of conduct. Barras is by no means an assuming or conceited man; he knows he can acquire

eminence only by revolutionizing, and he is always ready to revolutionize, no matter in what manner, or with what ultimate effects. In other respects he is highly aristocratical, that is, an enemy of every thing that tends to bring men nearer to equality. Réviellère, tormented with a thirst of fame, and directing all of his conduct to that object, is become a Theophilanthropist, as old women who have once been coquettes become devotees, lest they should be dead to the world ; but, provided that this plan did not succeed, he preferred acting as a tyrant to preserving the reputation of an honest man, with which he entered on his directorial office.

I do not, however, well know on what this character is founded ; perhaps, on the inclination of mankind to be deceived, and to console themselves for the prevailing of evil, by indulging an idea that some pure minds exist in the world ; perhaps on that pity, which a being so unkindly treated by nature, in regard to his person, inspires. But, assuredly, there exists not a greater hypocrite, nor a more immoral man, than Ré-

viellère : and Nature having formed him disgusting to the sight and smell, seems to have designedly cautioned those who approach him against the falsehood and depravity of his heart.

I shall ever remember his anthropophagous grin, when, as President of the Directory, he closed the sitting of the 3d of September which he knew would be the last I should attend. He thought that a few hours after, nothing of me would remain but a mangled and bloody carcass. What a hideous spectre he appeared ! I fancied I beheld Charles IX. when the tocsin of St. Bartholomew was about to sound, taking leave of those who were presently to be murdered by his own orders. A poignard seemed to leap from every angle of his distorted countenance ; his head was inclined upon his shoulders ; his eyes, grown almost opaque, looked askance ; the flesh on his cheek bones seemed agitated with a convulsive motion, and his half-opened lips protruded forwards, as it were, to meet the expected cup filled with the blood of his victim.

I do not believe it was without design, that the night between the 17th and 18th Fructidor was selected for the accomplishment of this scheme, which the concertors had so long *meditated in their wisdom*. The 17th and 18th Fructidor exactly correspond with the 3d and 4th of September, the epoch of the famous massacres in 1793. Many of those who signalized themselves at the first Septemberization, were also the secret directors of the second, and skilfully made their dates to coincide, the better to identify these two events. They were desirous of having a great number of accomplices, that they might make use of the similitude of the circumstances to divide the power that was concentrated in themselves among a great number of individuals, and thus to prevent the public opinion, which continually harrasses them, from pursuing them exclusively.

It is certain, that these new Septemberizers have identified their cause with the former, who have now pleased them by adducing the same reasons in justification of their conduct, and shel-

tering themselves under the same *salus populi*, and that it is impossible to defend them without exculpating the other. If the latter have not committed massacres, it is because they neither dared, nor had it in their power. They were not sufficiently confident of the success of their enterprize, and knew they should excite too much horror in the people, who had had sufficient time to reflect and profit by the experience of the past. But they exercised their cruelty with superior refinement, and have created an equal number of unfortunate individuals. The persons proscribed in this second Septemberization are victims immolated to the manes of the Duke of Orleans. History will class the infatuated Coryphæi of both under the same general term; it will be considered as one and the same transaction by those who endeavour to trace every event to its true cause.

Many of the representatives were not aware of the infamous part they were made to act—which was precisely the same that the National Convention was obliged to perform, when Tallien, in the

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name of the Commune, came to announce, that France was about to be delivered from her enemies, and the prisons to be cleared by a universal massacre. The first Septemberizers had a great source of enjoyment in seeing the number of their associates and partizans increased by the accession of those very men whom, till then, they had, at least in appearance, pretended to shun. They were desirous, that, in honour of the immortal triumph of Fructidor, monuments should be erected to them, and festivals celebrated on their account, which in their orgies and secret councils they would have referred at once, to the events of 1793, and those of 1797. Probably this secret has escaped them, and this is the reason they have adjourned the execution of their intentions till a more *favourable opportunity*.

Bonaparte, deceived by false reports, irritated by the unjust calumnies continually uttered against him, at length departed from the line which his natural penetration had pointed out to him. Latterly I saw one of his aids-de-camp,

named La Valette, whom he had himself introduced to me in one of his letters. This officer came to Paris to inform Bonaparte of the situation of affairs; I had several interviews with him, in the course of which I communicated the whole system I was pursuing. He told me, that Bonaparte had formed a very just idea on the subject, and assured me, that General viewed things exactly in the same light as myself; but that he complained of my not having written for some time to him. I replied, that my only motive was, that Bonaparte seemed no longer to have the same confidence in me, and that I conceived he had, at length, partly believed the lies propagated relative to me, by the newspapers, especially by those which undertook to prove that I was his enemy. I added, that I would write to him with openness of heart, by the first courier that should be dispatched.

Sometime after this, and I believe six days previous to the 4th of September, La Valette came and said to me, "You may be perfectly at ease with regard to the cloud you conceived

to have arisen in the mind of Bonaparte relative to yourself; I have a letter from him, saying, that he has written to you by the same courier, that you may rely on his highest esteem, and his warmest affection; and that he considers political events precisely in the same point of view as yourself." I expressed to Valette my great pleasure at what he communicated, "but," said I, "the letter has not been delivered." He appeared prodigiously astonished, and I never entertained a moment's doubt but that the little hypocritical Réveillère, who was then President, had intercepted it, and that it was kept back by this trio so full of *fidelity* and honour.

I was so convinced that it was impossible Bonaparte should have contributed to my proscription, that when, on his way to Rastadt, he passed through a small town where I happened to be for a short time, I was on the point of writing to him to ask for a momentary interview, and only waved my intention because I was afraid of placing the General himself in a delicate situation; for it never occurred to my mind

to harbour the slightest doubt of his sincerity and generosity. But I suffered him to pass, and illuminated my windows in common with all the other citizens, abandoning myself to my reflections, which were far from being of a melancholy nature, on the vicissitudes of human life.

I rejoiced some days after at the conduct I had pursued, when I was informed, that in his passage through Geneva, Bonaparte had arrested a banker named Bontems, merely because he was suspected of having brought me from Paris to that place, after the event of the 4th of September, in order to save me from the pursuit of the Directory, who had sent out whole battalions of troops, accompanied with artillery, to discover me in the vicinity of Paris. This suspicion had no foundation. In fact, I had never seen Bontems at Paris, nor was it to him that I was indebted for conveying me beyond the frontiers. That unfortunate man, however, remained some months in prison. Such is the story, as it was related to me by several persons who came from Geneva, and who have heard

it from his own mouth, when, he added, Bonaparte flew into a violent passion, and uttered the severest menaces.

Bonaparte was desirous of peace, but the Directory were averse to it; and it would have been concluded five months sooner, had they been willing to make it on the conditions which they ultimately accepted, merely because they perceived, that the best argument that could be urged to the people, in favour of the 4th of September, was that of its having accelerated a peace. Hence, they pretended, when the treaty was at length concluded, that it was the other members of the Directory who had hitherto constantly refused their assent; and that, on the contrary, they had eagerly endeavoured to procure that blessing for their country the moment they were relieved from their shackles. It may be seen in their subsequent conduct, whether in this pretended desire of peace they were really sincere.

Of all the modifications of treaties they had in their power to adopt they have chosen the very worst; and it appears I was mistaking in saying, these *Republican Directors* were desirous of oppressing the Emperor. Far, very far, was the Emperor from being oppressed. The Preliminaries of Leoben, which could immediately be converted into a definitive treaty, would have been far better without the smallest alterations in them. The cession of Mantua was stipulated for that of Venice, and Venice is surely a place of more importance than Mantua. Bonaparte had written, that Mantua might be replaced, as far as regarded the security of the Cisalpine Republic, by Pizzighitone, and that the latter had several advantages over the former. But the Directory determined to keep Mantua, although, by the Preliminaries of Leoben, it was stipulated, that it should be given up; and this was the only object that prevented the peace from being concluded.

As I was desirous, however, that peace should be speedily concluded; and as I perceived their

obstinate determination to keep Mantua ; I proposed, one day, a mode, which at the worst we might adopt,—to give up Venice in its stead ! and, to that effect, I had even prepared a letter to Bonaparte ; but they cried out, that it would be better to give up Mantua than Venice. Here they were right, and I had only proposed to give up the latter because I perceived they were obstinately resolved to keep the former ; yet it was Venice they ultimately gave up. The letter I had written was thrown into the fire ; but by a singular coincidence, Bonaparte had formed the same idea with myself, and the next day or the day after we received dispatches from him proposing to substitute Venice for Mantua in the Preliminaries of Leoben, adding, that with this condition peace would be speedily concluded. They had rejected this proposal when it came from me, and they equally rejected it from Bonaparte. In a word, their wish was to keep both Mantua and Venice, and, in case the Emperor would not acquiesce in this point, to resume their arms immediately ; such were the conditions on which they con-

tinued disputing five months, and at their expiration chose the worst of the two alternatives.

The hatred some of the members of the Directory bore me, especially Barras, took its rise from events long anterior to the period when it broke out. Barras belonged to a faction which I always held in abhorrence; the faction which attempted to place Orleans on the throne, which, having failed in that design, began to intrigue for themselves, and at length divided into subordinate parties; the one under Danton, at the Cordeliers, the other under Robespierre, at the Jacobins, and the Commune of Paris: in a word, he belonged to that faction, which, though at first so opposite to the republican system, afterwards carried those principles to the utmost extreme of enthusiasm, when they perceived that they could by these means place themselves at the head of the Republic.

I was equally the enemy of the Cordeliers, and of the Jacobins, and never could be induced to enter either of their dens. Though I had

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an equal aversion to Danton and Robespierre, yet, as a member of the Committee of Public Safety, I was supposed to be a partizan of the latter, through its not being known perhaps that, in that committee I incessantly reproached him with his cruelties and his tyranny.

Barras was of the faction of Danton, as were the greater part of those who have been called Thermidorians by way of distinction, but who on the 9th Thermidor (July 27th), independently of the danger that threatened them, and which it was urgently necessary to oppose, were much less intent on destroying one tyrant than on avenging another, and re-establishing the tyranny of the former in their own hands. And who were these pretended avengers of humanity? They were, in general, the same men who had deluged Paris, Bordeaux, and Marseilles, with blood!

The great crime of which, in their eyes, I was guilty, was that of having signed the arrest of Danton; and yet it was a fact,

though very little known, that, at the Committee of Public Safety, I opposed that measure; not but that I considered this chief of the Septemberizers as deserving the execration of mankind, but from the motives I stated to the members of the committee, to whom I said: "You are no doubt powerful enough to have those, whom you may think proper to mark out, put to death; but if you once open the road that leads the representatives of the people to the scaffold we shall all successively tread the same path." The signatures, as I explained to the Convention, did not prove any thing relative to the opinions of those individuals who signed them, but merely that such resolutions had passed the committee, in the same manner as the signatures of the President and Secretaries of the Legislative Body, or of the Directory, certify, that such and such laws or resolutions have been passed, not that they received the assent or concurrence of those individuals. They were by no means signatures of confidence, as they have been called, but signatures of forms prescribed by law.

All the world knew this to be the fact, and those who were my persecutors had been a thousand times themselves examples of similar signatures; but they collected all the acts signed by me, whether as member of the Committee, or as a representative in the numerous missions to which I had been appointed, almost without interruption during eight months; but being unable in all these documents to find the slightest ground of accusation, it became necessary to attribute to me the crimes of other men; and, in lieu of considering as acts of enthusiasm what I had done while defending the accused members of the committee, to put a stop to the carnage of the representatives of the people, they accused me of it as of an additional crime. I was indebted for my preservation to the courage of a few virtuous men who were beyond suspicion, and who at length, venturing boldly to undertake my defence, forced those miscreants to let go their prey.

But they only deferred the period of their vengeance to a more favourable opportunity. I had had the good fortune at the committee, to contribute to the extrication of the Republic from its danger by repelling its enemies; and the only recompence I obtained was a horrid persecution. When in the Directory, I contributed to extricate it from new dangers, wherein these same villains, then acting as factious *reactionaries*, had plunged it; and the recompence was my Fructidorian proscription. I well knew that Republics were ungrateful, but I did not yet know that the individuals who call themselves republicans were guilty of such base ingratitude as I have since experienced.

If any one deserved to be exiled for having given rise to *reaction*, certainly that reward is due to those infamous characters, who, through their persecutions of the present republicans, and by confounding the innocent with the guilty, while they themselves were covered with crimes, brought about the events of the

13th Vendemiaire. But it is the privilege of these men always to cause the punishment of their own crimes to fall on the heads of their enemies. Thus, after having seduced and misled the Parisians by their counter-revolutionary manoeuvres; when they perceived that they were themselves about to become the victims of their own infernal policy, they massacred them with their artillery to punish them for their credulity. I was then an absolute nullity in the Republic. I rejoined the Legislative Body on the 13th Vendemiaire, to perish together with them if it was necessary; but I was absolutely destitute of any share in all those transactions.

I have more than once heard Barras express his grief and concern, that there were not enough individuals killed in Vendemiaire; and Reubel, who was precisely of the same opinion, proposing one day, when we were in a state of great pecuniary distress, to levy a forced contribution of sixty millions of livres on Paris within four-and-twenty-hours: "You mean, then," cried I,

"that terror and death should again be the order of the day:"—"I wish they were so already," replied Reubel: "I never saw but one fault in Robespierre, that of being too mild." And Barras repeated his favourite maxim (that maxim with which Germain has since, in other terms, reproached him) "We should not be in this condition if the Parisians had been more severely chastised in Vendemiaire."

Sieyès having refused the office of director, at the period when every thing was in so desperate a situation that the Directory had a difficulty to find domestics willing to enter into their precarious service, the councils turned their eyes towards me. A rumour to this effect having spread abroad, the Directory sent for me, Sieyès, and Merlin, to attend them. We all three attended them together. They offered to Merlin, the office of Minister of Justice; to Sieyès, that of Foreign Affairs; and to me, that of the War Department. Merlin accepted the proposal, but Sieyès and myself refused. I could scarcely conceive how a set of men (among whom I knew

I had, at least two mortal enemies) would offer me a place of such distinguished eminence ; and I have no doubt but their object was, to prevent me from being placed in the Directory: it was principally that I might re-establish the affairs of the war, that the Legislative Body were desirous of promoting me to that office ; and had I accepted the office of minister, the object would have been apparently answered. A few days after, they would have displaced me from that very office, and would, perhaps, at the same time have accused me of the ill-successes which were then very probable, immediately to ensue.

On my refusal, they named Aubert-Dubayet ; and it is to be observed, that it was on me that the blame of the incapacity of that minister was afterwards thrown ; and it was in the newspapers, in the pay of Barras, that the accusation appeared. Though Aubert-Dubayet was full of intelligence, and of courage, he himself felt that he was not qualified for the office he filled ; and he was incessantly conjuring me to relieve him from this heavy burden.

At the outset of their administration, the Directory were surrounded with the greatest difficulties; yet, good fortune, and the zealous assiduity and co-operation of the Constituted Authorities, who were united by the common danger, soon restored their strength: the war in La Vendée was terminated; the armies resumed their original enthusiasm; the paper circulation disappeared; the free circulation of the necessities of life, arising from the exertions of the minister, Benezech, restored plenty to the people; and only one real cause of inquietude remained, arising from the party of the Anarchists who were boldly conspiring, at the club of the Pantheon, daily challenging the massacre of the Legislative Body, and of the Directory, and resolving, by every species of crimes, to re-establish the constitution of 1793.

I know not on what ground it had been imagined, that I should espouse the party of the Anarchists. All those who had any personal knowledge of me, all those who had observed my conduct at the Convention and in the missions

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I had discharged, could not entertain the slightest doubt that I was their mortal enemy.

Neither is my appearance that of a desperate Revolutionist. I have known people who, from the description of me in the newspapers, expressed the greatest surprise on seeing me, and would scarcely believe that I was that terrible member of the Committee of Public Safety, that associate of Robespierre. Others, who knew me before the revolution a careless, solitary, absent being, and full of thought; in short, a kind of philosopher, or rather an original, would still less believe that I had now become a courtier and a friend of kings, or that I, having participated in the glory of founding the most majestic of republics, could afterwards amuse myself with destroying it. Such inconsistencies were reserved for the sublime members of the Executive Directory, that is, for the very men who best knew the contrary.

Be this as it may, the Directory could then discover no other means of safety than shutting

up the Club of the Pantheon, which Bonaparte, who commanded the 1st Military Division, was appointed to execute that very night.

But the Anarchists were not to be discouraged. Every day some new attempt was made by them ; but they were only dispersed, and no one marked out for punishment. Their impunity increased their courage ; with them we were in the same situation as an antagonist in a duel who only parries the weapon of his adversary, without attempting to wound him in his turn. However unskilful this adversary may be, he is certain at length to kill his enemy. Thus likewise would the Republic infallibly have sunk, had not Babœuf and his accomplices been arrested ; a measure which struck terror into the hearts of these miscreants, and effected their dispersion.

This reminds me of a remarkable anecdote. One of those men, whom it is attempted to involve in all the schemes and plots which so rapidly succeed each other for the destruction of

the Government, waited on me one morning after the arrest of Babœuf. He was a shoemaker, and explained to me the manner in which these intrigues were carried on by the journeymen of his trade. I ordered some breakfast for him, and made him talk freely of every thing he knew, and among other curious observations, "*My God,*" said he, "*Citizen Carnot, how much I was astonished at what you have done against Babœuf, I thought you a Brutus.*" All in good time, replied I. From this I perceived that this class of society had been purposely filled with such wild ideas, that with them every constitution, every law, and every government whatever, appeared an invasion of liberty, every man in office a tyrant, and every one who proposed to kill them, especially if he undertook the office himself, as a Brutus,

The Directory did not without jealousy observe that the man whom they had taken such pains to represent as the protector of anarchy was the very person who had given it so severe a blow. But they were still more irritated against me afterwards, when they found it convenient to make

me pass for a Royalist for having arrested Duman, Brottier, and Lavilleheurnois. Certainly those were not deserving to be called *stupid*, who invented the story, that I was the accomplice of the agents of Louis XVIII. ; I, who had so long been tracking them out, and had ultimately caused them to be arrested and brought to trial, while the *republican directors* suffered these same agents to be acting almost under their own eyes, without harbouring the least suspicion of them.

This conspiracy, however, of the agents of Louis XVIII. was by no means a matter of small importance. *Their trial*, says Bailleul, *had brought every thing to light*. This is an important confession. It was I, then, who arrested the very persons that brought every thing to light. But have they brought to light, honest Bailleul, that I was their accomplice? From my having arrested both Duverne and Babœuf, it might perhaps be inferred that I was equally the enemy of royalty and of anarchy. They argued, however, on wiser grounds; because I arrested

Duverne, I was the accomplice of Babœuf; and because I arrested Babœuf, I was the accomplice of Duverne: but those who arrested no man, were the accomplices of no man; those who suffer every faction to continue, belong to no faction; those who proscribe republicans that are free from reproach, are the true patriots; those who tear the social compact, are the firm supporters of the constitution; those who enslave the people, are the best friends of liberty; those who carry on wars of extermination, are the sincere lovers of peace; and those who bring about Fructidorian Revolutions, are the saviours of their country! *We do not seek to prove the existence of light.*

Cochon and Malo contributed as much and more than myself, to detect and defeat the agents of Louis XVIII. But Louis XVIII. has been amply revenged by the *republican directors*, who have proscribed both Cochon and Malo. The worthy, the virtuous, Minister, Cochon, a thousand times more active, more courageous, more republican, than all our *Repub-*

lican Directors, was the man who discovered to the Directory the whole history of the *coterie des fils légitimes* with which Bailleul has decorated his report. All the details he has given are borrowed from the papers seized by the agents of Cochon.

If, however, we listen to Bailleul, it was to their own penetration that the Directory was indebted for all those discoveries. No, Bailleul, the penetration of the Directory discovers only imaginary conspiracies; they can find no real plots; but in revenge those they discover '*in their wisdom*' are so clear, that it would be '*feebly to apprehend*' their intentions to ask for proofs! What does it signify who perish in a great convulsion, whether they are the innocent or the guilty? Have they not, in all events, accomplished their object; have they not destroyed their enemies; are they not possessed of the dictatorship? I have already observed, that it was the peculiar talent of the Orleans faction (the remains of which are now intriguing for themselves, and are the true

authors of the Fructidorian revolution) to appropriate to themselves the fruits of the labours of others, and then to cause the punishment of their own crimes to fall upon their heads.

It was the alarming conspiracy of Babœuf, and the imminent danger incurred by the public weal through the dissolution of the *Legion de Police* (a danger which few were able fully to appreciate), that at length convinced me of the necessity of displacing, from every office of trust, that crowd of immoral and incorrigible beings, who spread disorder, discontent, and terror, into every corner of the Republic. To the appointment of some of these I had myself at first contributed ; not to the nomination of those whom I considered as unprincipled villains, but only of those whose minds were inflamed with enthusiasm : and this I did as much with a view to diminish the mass of these inflammable elements at Paris, as with a hope of seeing men, who had been misled, return to the principles of moderation, and sincerely abjure a system which had been the

cause of so many evils. But I soon perceived that, although some of them faithfully returned to the good path, the majority endeavoured to employ the advantages they had obtained to throw every thing into confusion.

It was at that period, too, that I began to perceive strong oppositions in the Directory.—Reubel was constantly the protector of men accused of plunder and dilapidation, Barras of attainted and ruined nobles, and Réveillière of unprincipled priests. Whenever a deputation from any of the departments solicited the place of Commissary or Receiver, for any particular individual whose character, probity, and abilities they warranted, they began to calculate the number of votes; and if there were eight or nine deputies for granting the request, and one or two for its rejection, it was negatived without farther examination; because they had laid it down as a maxim, that the majority of the Councils were royalists.

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Reubel very often expressly declared this proposition as certain. He had memorandums relative to almost every member of the Legislative Body ; he collected all he could learn concerning them, no matter from what quarter, which he carefully laid by and arranged in the pigeon-holes of his bureau : and thus he was furnished with a magazine, by which he could involve in whatever conspiracy he pleased, all those representatives of whom he wished to rid himself. I here forewarn Jourdan that there are some of these memorandums particularly directed against him ; I have heard Reubel positively declare that Jourdan was a traitor. This man was the principal cause of his disgust, and obliged him to ask leave to retire.

Most of the other celebrated generals of the Republic were equally noted down by him as traitors. Kleber, in particular, was the object of his declared hatred. Yet that General has since resumed his post ; because, no doubt, they took advantage of the opportunity to persuade

him that I was the author of his disgrace ; whereas, on the contrary, it was I who (though unable to prevent it) endeavoured to soften it as much as possible, by a letter which I wrote in the name of the Directory, expressive of their regret at losing an officer of such distinguished merit. I am convinced the Directory would not have suffered this letter to be sent to him, had they read it ; but they signed it *confidentially*. In short, with regard to every man of eminence in the Republic, in any way whatever, I never heard any language so conformable to that of Robespierre, as that of Reubel ; nor did I ever perceive so constant a desire to annihilate every one who had acquired reputation by his superior merit.

He appears fully convinced that probity and civism are absolutely incompatible. He cannot conceive how a man of unblemished character can have been induced to take a part in the revolution. One day, when I made some remarks on the undisguised extravagance of Merlin of Thionville, after the time of the famous

surrender of Mentz, where he was sent, together with Reubel, a representative of the people, although this same Merlin had declared at the Convention that he had no property but his salary as deputy, Reubel instantly changed colour; yet no man is in general so well able to command his features. Some days after he said, as if without design, "that Merlin of Thionville is a rascal, and I have told him as much; for he spends twenty-five louis a-day at the Mount Calvary. I have long been his friend, because I thought him an honest man, but now I have broken with him." In fact, however, he has not broken with him at all, and has never ceased to maintain the most intimate connection with him,

In Reubel the thirst of power is insatiable. At the time when lots were drawn to determine which of the directors should go out, his fight was so confused when he opened the fatal ticket, that although it was in his favour, he read that it was against him, and the words, *It is I*, escaped him, making at the same time a motion

of his body expressive of his concern. These words I heard with perfect distinctness, because I stood close to him, and have often joked him on the subject ; nor did he deny this fact.

As to Barras, I have already said that he was the protector of the nobles ; and this is not the less true for his apparently declaiming against them. He secretly endeavours to procure the re-admission of the titled emigrants, and has always some marquis or knight to propose for every vacant place ; but then they are always marquisses or knights who despised the advantages of their birth even under the old government. It is certain that Barras is an Aristocrat, and that the name of patriot, which is constantly in his mouth, is with him but a means of acquiring influence and power.

After the affair of Grenelle, Barras being publicly accused of not coming forward in the defence of the Directorial Palace, caused it to be inserted in some of the journals, that he had appeared on that occasion, and thus left

the truth quite uncertain, that he might be able afterwards to assert or deny it as might best suit his purpose. The fact is, that neither he, Reubel, nor Réveillère, made their appearance. Afterwards, however, they pursued this affair with much more warmth than I, who have always been of opinion that no influence ought to be exercised over the tribunals, when taking cognizance of any affair whatever. Réveillère, to whom I went myself to apprise him of the danger, as soon as I was informed that the insurgents were marching to the Directorial Palace, and were within a stone's throw of the gates, said "that he would leave the business to Le Tourneur, and myself, who were military men."—When the insurgents knew that we were prepared for them they changed their route, and went to the camp of Grenelle. Barras and Reubel excused themselves the next day, by saying they were out of town, because they were not apprised of what was passing. But I am of opinion they were out of town because they *were* apprised of it.

Thus they pursued the system they uniformly adopt, of letting other men act in all cases of danger, and then attributing the success to themselves, or throwing the blame on others. When several persons came, on the following day, to give us an account of what they had witnessed of them, one told us that Tallien, and several others of the Orleans faction, had been waiting on the banks of the river to see the result of the attack of the Camp of Grenelle, and that as soon as they learnt that it had failed, they dispersed and took flight. Barras, who lived in habits of intimacy with Tallien, thought it might be better for him to separate their apparent interests, and therefore began to abuse and calumniate his friend. He said, "that if there were five hundred conspiracies, Tallien would be concerned in them all."

These two execrable men were united, not by the bonds of true friendship, of which upright hearts alone are capable, but by an emulation in cruelty. They had equally practised the most atrocious barbarity; they had equally bathed

themselves in human blood—the one at Marfeilles, the other at Bordeaux. To defend myself, in case of need, against the intrigues of their faction, when they prosecuted me with so much fury, I had extracted some parts of their letters to the Committees of Public Safety during their missions. It is impossible to conceive any thing more terrible than these writings. All that has been yet published relative to them, gives but a feeble idea of the horrid language which I literally extracted from their correspondence. This curious correspondence has fallen into the hands of the guilty. It was among the papers which were taken from me.

I well know that the regret which the triumvirs felt, at having failed in their design to have me assassinated on the night of the 17th of Fructidor, arose from a hope, that by my death they would have prevented the exposure of their crimes.—A body of assassins had been posted at a back gate of my garden, whom the guard of the Directory, by my orders, commanded to retire, and they obeyed when they found that they

were discovered. A few minutes previous to the departure of the detachment, who were appointed to arrest me, an aid-de-camp was dispatched to know if I was still at my house ; where I certainly was, and quitted it but at the moment when the guard entered the apartments. The Luxembourg was, as it were, invested by a large body of troops, supported by artillery ; but I deceived the vigilance of the assassins, by availing myself of a secret passage of which they were ignorant. I heard the discharge of the alarm gun, just as I had shut the last door through which I was to pass ; and, with a pistol in each hand, I wandered for three hours about the city, and took my way through bye streets, in order to avoid the detachments of soldiers which had been augmented on that occasion, and that I might, at length, reach the asylum where I fled for safety. Reubel could not express the violence of his anger at the officer who carried the order of arrest ; and Barras was so inconceivably base, as to accompany the soldiers who were ordered to seize the feeble Barthelemy.

Z

On the 19th, when the council excepted from the proscription certain representatives, and among others Doulcet, the Directory addressed a very insolent message to the Council on that occasion, who, recovered from its first impressions of terror, refused to change its determination. This message is well known. It was then the opinion of Réveillère, that Doulcet should be assassinated. To say the truth, give that man but an opportunity to do any thing, and he will soon find the means of doing it.

At length, they celebrated their immortal labours by public rejoicings, in which nothing was wanting to complete their festivity but to drink their intoxicating beverage out of the skulls of their enemies. At Rome, no triumph was ever known to grace the victories that arose out of civil discord. They were events which the Roman citizens contemplated with sorrow and mourning.

The pen drops from my hand, in writing this affecting narrative; and in reflecting

on the monsters to whom France is abandoned. These misfortunes, great as they may be, are not, however, of a nature to make the friends of liberty despair, nor to prevent the legislators from preparing for their fellow citizens the means of future prosperity. Above all things they ought to give their attention to the restoration of the finances, and the stability of the laws. Every one feels the absolute necessity of forming instant regulations for the first ; and, it is time that a due regard should be paid to the second ; the rights of property also should no longer be uncertain ! A secure possession can alone make agriculture flourish ; attach the citizens, by the tranquil enjoyment of their property, to the country which protects them, and cause the love of the Republic to become the sovereign passion of every breast.

In the same manner, when the obligations annexed to the state of every citizen are reduced to a small number of fixed and simple duties, every one will conform to them with pleasure, from the readiness with which he

comprehends them ; and rearing his children in the practice of them, will insensibly form to himself a system of public morals, which, identifying itself with the existence of the nation, will fix its character, and secure its duration. Hence it is, that all the great legislators have discovered less inconvenience in an imperfect but fixed code of laws, than in more perfect systems, which, from the circumstances around them, are liable to change. The best government is that which is obeyed from habit and education, and not from the influence of varying institutions : in one word, that in which those who govern have the least to do ; as that clock is the best, which requires the least attention from the artizan. But the grand error, of the greater part of those who are placed at the head of public affairs, is, a very general opinion, that they would be of no use, whatever, in their stations ; and that the business of the state would not proceed, if, on every occasion and at every moment, their influence and interference was not perceived or felt, Universal toleration, and a calm promulgation of the

laws, are the most certain means of rendering a people contented, and preventing revolutions.

Allow every thing which can be allowed, without dissolving the bonds of society, or giving up all pretensions to freedom: such an arrangement will perhaps beget, in the beginning, a tendency to disorder; but, in a short time, and by degrees, every one will take his natural position, and the social body will become more compact and united; because you will have substituted the ties of nature for those of law. This is a doctrine which despots cannot comprehend; and they are so successful in propagating their errors, that those who wish to see liberty established in its greatest latitude are precisely those who are distinguished by the titles of aristocrats and royalists. The Gothic King Theodoric was, in this particular, far less a Goth than our republican directors.

It is said, that France is more tranquil than it was before Fructidor. It may be so, but if we suppose for a moment, that the triumvirs

govern with as much success as Octavius, after he was Emperor, or Cromwell when he was Protector, would they be less the oppressors of their country! They might be compared to the hunter, who having taken a wild elephant endeavours by kind treatment to reconcile him to the slavery to which his future life is devoted.

The usurpation of power cannot be justified even by the best employment of it; otherwise, any one who should suppose himself more capable of governing than another would have a right to destroy him, and assume his place, as well as to substitute his will as superior to laws and tribunals, from the imperfection of the one, the delays of the other, and the abuses inseparable from all human institutions. And as a concentrated power appears to possess a greater degree of strength, and more rapid execution, than that which is derived from a Constitution; the government of an usurper will wear, for some time, the semblance of superior advantage, though in fact, it is nothing more than the prelude of lasting slavery.

If it were necessary to examine whether, in what relates to the administration of public affairs, the consequences of the 18th Fructidor have been beneficial, it would be very easy to prove the contrary. It would be very easy to make it appear, that a system of dissipation and waste has prevailed, instead of a system of economy and reformation; and that to give some degree of eclat to public measures, those resources which had been accumulated with so much care have been most extravagantly consumed. The Directory has ostentatiously reaped the fruits which others had sown, and has itself planted brambles for its successors. I am persuaded that, without engaging in war with any of the great Powers, our armies will find themselves reduced at the end of the campaign to one half, both as to their numbers and equipments; while the great Powers, on the contrary, have availed themselves of the opportunity to recruit their forces. The embarrassed state of the finances is still greater, notwithstanding the increase of contributions, the large sums which have been drawn from foreign countries, and

the suppression of payments at home. The commercial speculations, which were in such a state of activity before Fructidor, are annihilated; instead of a general peace, which might have been concluded, every channel of honourable accommodation has been shut up; by swearing to proceed in a war of extermination with the English nation; in rushing into a whirlpool of political circumstances, which may engender new coalitions against France, raise up new enemies in different parts of the world, and may throw a doubt upon the political character of the Republic, which had been so honourably acknowledged by every power. No excuse can be found for continually, and without the least necessity, risking the strength of our country, as at a game of chance, though we should be always successful. He who should vest his whole fortune in a lottery must be considered as an idiot, and I should not consider him with more favour, though he should be a gainer in the weak and hazardous enterprize; especially if he were to continue his folly: but if this fortune should not be his own, and that

he should possess nothing more than the administration of it; and if instead of increasing it gradually by prudent means, and employing its revenues for urgent necessities, he should expend it at the gaming table, I should then accuse him not only of folly, but breach of confidence, and treason.

With respect to the observation which has been already made, that France is said to be more tranquil than it was before Fructidor, it becomes us to consider what is the nature of that tranquillity: Does it arise from stupor or security? Is it the repose of a spring in a state of compression, or free to move? Is it the silence of citizens who never know whether they are the objects of love or hatred, submitted as they are to the authority, which is superior to laws?—or that calm in which the heart is disposed to dilate, from a consciousness that it is protected by the laws against the caprices of arbitrary power. With respect to the tranquillity produced by oppression, we know it to be the natural effect of despotic government, which is always

A a

more tranquil than that of a republic. Athens is at this day in a more peaceable state, than in the time of Themistocles. Rome enjoyed a greater degree of quiet under the Tarquins, and under Sylla, than at the first establishment of the tribunes. There is more tranquillity in a dungeon, than in a public square. But is France more happy now than she was before Fructidor. I declare the reverse. But should I be mistaken, the people must be happier under a despotic government (for that of the Directory is more despotic than any which has hitherto existed) than under that of a republic. This, however, is the system of Reubel and of all the Royalists. They only differ respecting the nature of the monarchy; the latter wish it to be hereditary, while Reubel is anxious that it should be elective, provided that the choice should fall upon himself.

We are compelled, therefore, for the honour even of the Republic, to believe that the people now suffer more than they suffered before Fructidor; but every citizen is obliged to concen-

trate his grief; and since the liberty of the press has been destroyed, no means are possessed of giving vent to it. Nay, if he dares to make his complaints known in his district, he would be instantly dragged before the agents of the executive power, loaded with irons, and abandoned or put to death, as a counter-revolutionist. If he should be bold enough but to claim, even in a whisper, his rights as a *republican*, he would be proscribed as a *royalist*. In a free country, the suffering is small and the outcry great, while, on the contrary, under a tyrannical government, the sufferings are great and the complaints are slender. Such is the difference between the epoch which preceded the 18th Fructidor, and that which has followed it.

Before Fructidor the public agitation was extreme, because a division had taken place between the two higher constituted authorities. Such are the storms which must be expected in democratic governments. There were two modes, however, of tranquillizing this agitation which presented themselves: that of concilia-

tion, by the sentiment of patriotism and a sense of common danger, which would not intrude upon their respective powers, was suited to the republican system, and established confidence in the social compact. 2dly, The other was, that one of these authorities should crush the other; and this the Executive Directory, which had the power in its hand, thought proper to adopt.— It not only refused to attempt the first mode of settling the existing differences, but manifested an unfurmountable reluctance, and repelled with scorn every advance that was made on the occasion. And what has been the result of such a conduct? A monarchy vested in five persons. Nor can we fail to remark, that the men who have formed this monarchical system, the new monarchs themselves, as well as those who did not blush to be their humble agents, who called themselves *republicans*, are the very persons who have denominated others *royalists*, and under that character have proscribed and banished them.

Thus it has been, and thus it will ever be, when similar circumstances happen in the world.

It would be too dangerous to tell the people, that they are about to be deprived of their liberty ; and it has ever been the policy of tyrants, to assure them that they would break their chains asunder, at the very moment when they were about to add to the weight of them.— Octavius would not abolish the name of republic. England was denominated a republic under the oppression of Cromwell ; and never was the title of republic so fearfully respected in France as under the revolutionary government. At this moment, not only in France, but in Switzerland, in Holland, at Rome, Genoa, and Milan, nay, in every part of Europe where the Directory governs openly or secretly, by its proconsuls and armies, is not every one compelled, from fear, to affirm that he is free?—The time may be approaching, when men, while they are roasting alive, shall be compelled to declare *how happy they are* ; like the savages, who glory in partaking of, and even surpassing, the joy of those who are mangling their bodies, as a preparation for eating them.

And who are they whom we must consider as the real friends of royalty, if they are not those who force us to regret the departure of it by their own tyranny? And who are the decided enemies of the republican government, but those who strive to render it odious?—Since words alone are of no value, it is experimental happiness which the people require. If they are wretched in a republic, they will demand a monarchy.—If they are made to believe that a republic offers nothing but a perpetual state of self-denial; that it is a government where justice is administered by cannon-balls, and where it is dispensed with when any one cuts the throat of a royalist; where fear is the universal principle of action; where natural affections are weaknesses, and the prejudices of education are considered as crimes; where decorum and good faith are ridiculous, and a wish for tranquillity a breach of public duty; where liberty consists in a right to oppress, and the character of the government is violent and arbitrary; I say, if such a description of a republic

is offered to the people,—they will demand a monarchy.

Such, alas, is the false but miserable opinion which the greater part of the French nation have been brought to adopt.—Examine then, particularly in the country, and you will now discover that each of them has quietly formed a distinct and two-fold arrangement of his fellow-citizens. In one of these classes, he places those who are gentle in their manners, of peaceable disposition, very susceptible of alarm, but regular in their lives, and supporters of good order, and these he will describe as Aristocrats. In the other—he arranges all those whose qualities appear to be insensibility, effrontery, luxuriousness, calumny, and impiety ; and he names them Patriots.—Such will be almost universally the consequence of such an examination.

He revolts within himself at the idea of a Republic ; but it is because he is deceived ; it is because, in the republic which is offered to his adoption, he beholds all the vices of monar-

chy : and thus forming an opinion of the latter, diametrically opposite to its real character, he attributes to it all the advantages which belong only to the former. Hence it is that the people, who are naturally republicans, appear to long for monarchy, when they are only agitated with the desire of improving their situation, and of enjoying the benefits which the republican compact had promised them. It will ever prove a fruitless attempt to tear from our nature that instinct, by which man perceives that he has a principle of reciprocal benevolence within him that is pre-existent to all human institutions, by which he sympathizes in the happiness and misery of his fellow-creatures. He is sensible that if this principle, which is the law of nature, ceases to exist, society itself would be instantly dissolved, or would possess but a precarious being under the terror of despotism ; he perceives that all the positive laws must re-unite themselves to this basis as to their natural root ; that their genuine object is to augment the inherent disposition and efficacy of this principle, and to complete, with a bolder line, that happy

sketch of nature, under the sanction of customs and usages. The legislator, who loses sight of this object, commits every thing to chance, and runs counter to his principal design, when, instead of enforcing, he weakens this principle, and substitutes in its place a system of fallacious independence and egoism ; for egoism is a leading principle in political division, in sovereignty, and monarchical power ; while reciprocal benevolence is, on the contrary, the basis of that national equality which forms the simple foundation of liberty, which secures the property of every individual by the protection of all the rest, and is, in one word, the genuine principle of a Republic.

There never was a king who made such an ostentatious and tyrannical display of kingly power as each of our republican directors ; never did any monarch equal them in watching the most trifling actions of his subjects. Never did the former monarchs of France treat their parliaments with the contempt which the Directory have manifested to the Legislative Bodies.

B b

Cromwell himself did not reduce the Parliament of England to similar ignominy. The national representation could not be reduced to a more abject state than that of being converted, under the cannon of the Directory, into a revolutionary tribunal. What is become of the solemn engagements entered into by the representatives of the people? Where is the man who will hereafter dare to exert himself in defending the rights of these very people, and will have the courage to condemn those who waste the contributions raised by their own arbitrary exactions? Where is the man who will venture to oppose himself to those who make peace or war without his participation; who at midnight violate the asylum of the peaceful citizen, and send him to Cayenne, which is become the seat of those bastilles that have been established by the Republic? If there should be a man possessed of a degree of courage equal to such a conduct, let me ask, whether he would not be involved in the first conspiracy which the directors may find essential to the execution of their grand projects? But

to be reduced to applaud such a scene of baseness, is to sink into a state of ignominy that is scarce exceeded by the vile courtier, who, when the tyrant of Asia had pierced the heart of his son with an arrow, compared the skill of the royal assassin to that of Apollo.

If I had consented to sit upon the same throne with the republican directors, they would not have denounced me as a royalist; if I had joined them in dragging the national representation through the dirt, they would have considered me as a distinguished patriot; if I had been an accomplice in their crimes, they would have permitted me to share in their boasted innocence; but I defy them, and I challenge all those, who have pronounced my condemnation, to bring home to me any expression, writing, or act, whatever, since the commencement of the Revolution, which is not altogether consistent with the genuine principles of moderation, of justice, and an ardent love of my country. How many are there among them who can, from their hearts, make the

same boast, and challenge the same examination? — and, nevertheless, who has been more exposed, than myself, to situations of difficulty and danger? I have been successively exposed to every faction, because I have never ceased to oppose them. I have been reviled by the venal writers of every party, but without one proof to support their calumnies; but those men, who employ their talents in defamation at so much per page, are ready to serve the republican or the royal cause, as either may demand their assistance. It may be readily conceived that such a man as Bailleul, to seize on an employment, will cringe before any one who has the power to bestow it, whether a prince or a director. But what had I, who was one of the directors, to gain by a counter-revolution? What had I to expect of kings, popes, and emperors? Could they raise me into a situation of more distinguished pre-eminence than that which I possessed; in which I treated them as my equals, and sometimes even with that superiority in which I was clothed by the victories of the Republic?

I cannot name a situation, on the globe we inhabit, which can be compared with that of a Constitutional Member of the Executive Directory ; nor more brilliant functions to fulfil, than those whose object it is to preserve the people from the grasp of absolute power. It is the prominent feature of his duties. And of what materials must that man be composed, the measure of whose desires and ambition would not be filled by receiving such a high and important charge from the confidential preference of so great a nation as our own? At the same time it may be asked, what is the magnitude of that man's guilt, who receives this trust from a free people in order to become a despot? Nevertheless, the triumvirs, instead of preserving the people from absolute power, have clothed themselves with it. They have discovered that the office of dictator is superior to that of director, and they aspire to be dictators. Indeed their prevailing object is to persuade the people that they may live happy in a state of subjection. After the government of such men as these, the nation would receive an Henry IV, as

the first of blessings. It would be no worse change for them than the absolute government of one instead of five. The people would reason no farther on the subject ; they no longer know the nature of liberty and the rights of man, nor feel a hatred for tyrants : nay, they begin to think that tyrants may be respectable ! As for me, I would rather be an exile than a director. An oppressor of the people is a character replete with infamy ; and I boast of the honourable allotment, of having become a victim of my fidelity to them.

The tiger of anarchy has long displayed his hungry jaws ; and what must have been his delight, when he beheld the Directory throw to him two of its members to appease his savage appetite—when HE became his prey who had so long deprived him of his meal — who alone, of the Directory, loved liberty from principle, and for its own sake, and who had served it with effect ! — for it is such men, above all others, that such monsters seek to devour ; for it is the pure patriot alone that can satisfy his

palate; and it is for such food that he will lick, for an instant, the hands of his purveyors. The gang of royalists expressed neither less surprise or satisfaction, when they perceived the opinion of Vergniaud fulfilled, that the Revolution, like Saturn, devoured its own children. All the monarchs of Europe should have offered their most grateful acknowledgements to their brethren of France, for having delivered them, at length, from an intractable enemy, which, from the moment of their coalition, had caused them so much alarm and disquietude. The choice of such a victim, fulfilled at once the wishes of those who were the protectors of Louis XVIII. as well as the Orleans party. It is, however, greatly to be lamented that the good intentions of the republican directors, respecting it, have failed of success.

What a scene of caprice and extravagance!— The triumvirs have passed the last two years in a state of indifference and indolence; they have abandoned the Legislative Body to the fury of every faction; they have continually insulted it,

and as often treated its members with personal degradation; they have even proceeded to tread it under their feet; and, nevertheless, these very men are held forth by it as the preservers of liberty. During these two years, I, on the contrary, have been employed as a vigilant sentinel of the national representation; and have formed a rampart against the freebooters who wished to be its assassins; I have dispersed the storms that menaced it; the wish of my heart has been, that it should be the object of universal honour; that, even in its extravagancies, it should remain inviolate, and that its members should be treated with respect; and yet I am proscribed; nor was one voice heard from the midst of it, to oppose such an act of extreme injustice! the fruits of my devotion to it have been exile, defamation, and misery! Yes, legislators, triumvirs, and generals, who have betrayed your duties; ministers, who have served the cause of iniquity; yes, I prefer my allotment to yours; the state of banishment in which I live is dear to me; and I only wish that I had merited it, by a still more ardent zeal for the glory and prosperity of my country.

But am I not guilty of injustice in declaring, that not one voice was heard in my behalf?— Yes; OUDOT, had the courage, in the Council of Five Hundred, to support my cause; while LACUÉE, in the Council of Elders, gave his testimony for me; and in such an oppressed state as mine, these were acts of no common generosity: and much do I wish, that I could offer to men, who are worthy to be the representatives of a free people, such expressions of gratitude as their courage demands from me. The suffrages of two men who, amidst so much contamination, still maintain their purity, satisfies every wish of my heart; and will continue to awaken those sentiments, which they who ordered my proscription can never inspire: may this noble act of justice, never be the occasion of causing those who performed it to become partakers of my persecution!*

* Many others, who deserve a place among the most ardent patriots, have expressed to me their deep concern on the occasion; but, they perceived, that it was impossible to resist a faction, whose measures had been formed on a system of villany, of which the history of the world does not offer an example.

I thought it my duty to answer the Report of the Committee, as it was an authentic document; and I should consider it as deserving of reproach, if I had suffered any gall to mix in my reply. No one condemns more sincerely than myself, the practice of answering injury by injury; and I should not readily forgive myself for any which I might have unnecessarily uttered against my assassins. But I must entreat the reader to consider, that the nature of an accusation must always determine the manner in which it must be answered. If the only object had been to expose errors; if proofs had been produced to that effect, and I had been called upon to do nothing more than prove their insignificance, a calm, controversial discussion would have been sufficient; and I should, most assuredly, have preferred it. But the Directory announces positive facts, and gives no other proof of their truth, but the moral virtue of the accusers. It became, then, a duty I owed to myself, to prove the frail nature of their testimony; to make it appear, that they have not acted from error or misconception, but from the worst principles; that my accusers have

not been deceived, but are themselves the deceivers. I must, at length, unmask these impostors and universal plunderers. I do not, indeed, possess the art of telling any one, in polished terms, that he is a liar, a traitor, and a cut-throat. If I had applied these titles to the triumvirs without proof, and when such a mode of addressing them was not connected with unfolding their execrable system, I could not have justified myself. But the contempt which I feel for them, assures me, that I have not indulged myself in any emotions of passion which might turn me aside from rigid truth. They would not occupy my thoughts for a moment, if they were not blended with the means I must employ for my justification. How many of their base and vile accomplices could I expose ; and I have never named them ! Not, indeed, from any tenderness to them, but because, I would not degrade my pen in writing their names ; and, because, their miserable history could not have supported those testimonies which I have presented to the attention of the public. There surely cannot be one independent character existing,

who, when he reflects on these villains, does not feel himself moved by that awful indignation, which never fails to arise, when triumphant villany basely insults the victim that it has sacrificed,

It was my ultimate object to make the Republic beloved, by erecting it on the basis of true genuine Liberty, and not according to any of those ridiculous definitions by which it has been misrepresented and misunderstood. It was my ardent wish to preserve, to the national representation of a great people, the supreme rank which the nature of things requires, and the constitution has marked out for it. It has been my desire, that every citizen should be governed in his conduct by institutions which were become habitually practical, rather than by the threats of the law. In short, it has ever been my opinion, that prejudice should be suffered to disperse insensibly before the light of reason, rather than be extirpated by the violence of power. I have certainly committed many errors in pursuing a career to which I had not been originally

destined; but I never deserted the principles which formed a compass to guide me through the revolutionary tempests. If I availed myself of an universal enthusiasm to push on the war with an unexampled vigour, it was rather to put an end to the critical state in which that enthusiasm had placed the nation. I had conceived the design of writing the history of this hallowed war, which has fixed the basis of the great Republic on its own immortal trophies; and to consign, in its annals, the innumerable acts of its heroes, for the glory and instruction of their posterity.—With this view I established the office, called the *Typographical and Historical Cabinet*, where I had caused a very large quantity of materials to be collected; and which others may be better qualified to unfold to the world than myself.

I did not employ the power which was delegated to me in amassing riches, or in raising my relations to lucrative employments:—I have clean hands and a pure heart.

I shall never cease to direct my thoughts towards my country. No one can despoil me of the character of a citizen, which the constitution has given me, and which I have merited by the affection I bear it, and my zeal to its service. I am not conscious of having committed one arbitrary or tyrannic act: I demand a regular and constitutional trial, and I do not fear either the severity of my judges or the appointment of the jury; whatever they may be, I am certain of being as good a republican as the most zealous of them. The only crime with which I shall be charged, is the vain but patriot attempt to save the French people from the dominion of tyrants. It was not, however, possible for me to succeed in this design, because I employed only such means as were authorized by the constitution which was confided to me, and I was opposed by monsters, to whom nothing that thwarted their views was inviolable or sacred.

O France! O my country! O great and renowned people! it was in thy bosom that I had

the happiness to be born ; and I cannot cease to belong to thee, till I exist no more. You contain all the objects of my affection ; the work which my hands contributed to establish ; the virtuous old man that gave me life ; a family without stain ; friends who know the bottom of my heart, and can affirm, that it never conceived a thought but for the happiness of my countrymen, or formed a wish but for their immortal glory and continual prosperity. Receive, O my country ! this vow, which is renewed every succeeding day of my life, which I, at this moment, address to all those great and virtuous characters which you possess ; to all those who cherish in their hearts the sacred spark of liberty. I conclude by the Spartan prayer, “ **ENABLE US, YE GODS, TO BEAR INJUSTICE !**”

THE END.

NARRATIVE
OF THE
DÉPORTATION TO CAYENNE,
OF
BARTHELEMY, PICHEGRU,
&c. &c.

+ * * * +
SECOND EDITION:
+ * * * +

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NARRATIVE
OF THE
DEPORTATION TO CAYENNE,
OF
BARTHÉLEMY, PICHEGRU, WILLOT,
MARBOIS, LA RUE, RAMEL,
&c. &c.
IN CONSEQUENCE OF
THE REVOLUTION OF THE 18TH FRUCTIDOR,
(SEPTEMBER 4, 1797).

CONTAINING
A VARIETY OF IMPORTANT FACTS RELATIVE TO THAT RE-
VOLUTION, AND TO THE VOYAGE, RESIDENCE AND
ESCAPE OF BARTHÉLEMY, PICHEGRU, &c. &c.

FROM THE FRENCH OF
GENERAL RAMEL,
COMMANDANT OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY GUARD.

Et quorum pars magna fui!

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

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FOR J. WRIGHT, PICCADILLY.

1799.

Just Published,
THE THIRD EDITION,
REPLY OF L. N. M. CARNOT,
CITIZEN OF FRANCE,
ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE REPUBLIC, AND
CONSTITUTIONAL MEMBER OF THE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY,
*To the REPORT made on the CONSPI-
RACY of the 18th Fructidor, by J. CH.
BAILLEUL, in the Name of the Select
Committee.*

NARRATIVE,

&c. &c. &c.

AT length I am arrived on the continent of Europe, and am taking my leave of that hospitable land where myself and my companions in misfortune have met with a reception equally honourable to the government to whom we are indebted for it, and to the victims of tyranny who were its objects. Yet even the gratitude I sincerely feel has not induced me to fix my residence among my generous enemies, of whom I entertain so high an opinion that I am persuaded the motives which led me to refuse their asylum have procured me their esteem, 'I

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cannot but believe that it is not against our country: it is not against France, but against the tyrants who enslave it that England is carrying on war; yet it is the blood of Frenchmen that has lately stained the ocean, and is again about to deluge our frontiers! I have participated their fatigues and dangers, and should still be fighting in their ranks had I not been torn from them by the hand of violence. Nor will I ever espouse any other cause than that of national independence, or fight by the side of any warriors but Frenchmen who take up arms for the liberty of their country. Thus is a sentiment of eternal gratitude reconciled to an inviolable fidelity to my duty; and it is with a view to give a proof of both that I publish this Narrative. It will be easily perceived that the writer is a soldier who has taken part in the great events he relates only in consequence of the post he filled; but who, never having stepped beyond the narrow circle of his duty, is unwilling that the tyrants whom he detests, or the intriguers whom he despises, should mistate his actions according to their personal interests or passions. If

all those who have had the misfortune to act in the various scenes of the French Revolution would thus record for posterity those transactions alone of which they were eye-witnesses, materials would exist among which the future historian, when seeking for truth amidst innumerable contradictions, might find documents that would bear those marks of authenticity which exclusively belong to the testimony of a conscience free from reproaches,

During my exile I have only been able to preserve a few notes to assist my memory which was impaired by illness, to recal the order and chain of events. Several particulars will no doubt have escaped me, but the principal and most interesting will at least be hastily sketched. I shall state plain facts, the simple but awful truth, to which I shall be so far from adding that I shall even avoid the most natural reflections. While describing these fatal scenes, I shall waive all personal resentments, however just and well founded they may be; my heart is too full of the misfortunes of my family, and the

dreadful situation in which I have left many of my brothers in exile, for hatred or revenge to find a place in my writings,

From the year 1792 I had been Adjutant General of the Army of the Rhine, under the orders of the brave General Dessaix, and was specially appointed to the command of the fort of Kehl, which was then besieged by Prince Charles, when I received an order from the Directory to go to Paris to take the command of the guard of the Legislative Body, to which I had been nominated by the two Councils. That corps of grenadiers, which at first consisted of a battalion of 800 men, had lately been increased to two battalions of 600 men each. The origin of this corps was the battalion of grenadiers of the Convention. If we recollect the period at which this corps was established, we shall easily form an idea of its temper and of the necessity of reforming it. This I was constantly endeavouring to bring about. A new organization, and the filling up the ranks with excellent grenadiers from all the armies, were the means I em-

played. In this I was so well supported by the two committees and the ministers, that, in spite of the cabals of the Jacobins, I succeeded in re-establishing the discipline of the troops, and order in the administration of the regiments. Having been frequently attacked, I have had various opportunities of proving, both to the friends and enemies of the government, my fidelity to the constitution. The consequence was, as I might have expected, that I displeased the violent of both parties. As long as public affairs were conducted by men of sense I had only to defend myself against some obscure miscreants who continually endeavoured to corrupt the grenadiers, and exerted themselves in vain to cast suspicions on me ; but after the last change in the Legislative Body, in proportion as these discussions grew more animated, and especially when the Directory set every thing in a flame by means of the addresses from the Army of Italy, I was tormented on all sides ; and the factious took advantage of the general ferment which was so favourable to their designs.

They no longer endeavoured to conceal their plots, and I surprised their emissaries in the barracks and among the ranks. In short, every mode of seduction was employed. In reflecting even now on the conduct I then held under these difficult circumstances, I have no reason to repent of it, since it procured me the hatred of bad men, and enabled me to keep the most violent within bounds. Some were desirous of displacing me; and, a short time previous to the 18th of Fructidor, the Directory caused an offer to be made me of a promotion to another post if I would resign my command.

I was certain to fall a victim to my duty, were it merely because I was resolved to remain faithful to it; nor could I expect justice from any of the parties who were furiously attacking each other. I could only expect it from the virtuous few who were destined to be sacrificed to their fury. But I am contented with the esteem of true patriots, and leave it to the rational part of mankind to judge whether I have deserved it.

For some days past, in consequence of the information received by the committees of inspection for the palace of the two Councils, more than ordinary vigilance had been enjoined me, and I had taken all the necessary precautions to avoid being surprised by the only attack which I had reason to fear, that of the anarchists, who had for some time filled the streets and squares of Paris, and loudly threatened the Legislative Body even within the limits of my station.

In the evening of the 17th, after having visited my posts, on going to receive the orders of the members of the committee, they seemed equally averse as on the preceding days to believe that the Directory would attempt to destroy the Legislative Body, or would dare to direct an armed force against it. I heard several deputies, and particularly Emery, Dumas, Vaublanc, Tronçon du Coudray and Thibaudeau, express their indignation at the supposition, and at the terror it was calculated to raise among the people. Their security was such that they retired before midnight, and were accompanied by those of

their colleagues who had come to communicate the fears which their private information had excited. I then returned to my quarters to see that my grenadiers were ready to be under arms.

At one o'clock in the morning of the 18th, I received orders from the Minister of War to attend him. I immediately went to the committee room, where I found only one of the inspectors, Rovère, lying down. I communicated to him the order I had received, and added, that "I had been informed several columns of troops were pouring into Paris, and that the commander of the guard of cavalry belonging to the Councils had just informed me he had called in his sentries, and marched his troops over the bridges, together with the two pieces of canon from the great court of the Thuilleries." It must be observed, that it was in conformity to the orders of the commander in chief, Augereau, that the officer of cavalry refused to obey mine, and had passed the bridges with his troop. Rovère replied, that "all these manœuvres signified nothing,

thing, for orders had been given that several bodies of troops should march over the bridges early in the morning, to perform their exercise; that I need not be alarmed; that he had received very faithful reports, and saw no inconvenience in my waiting on the Minister of War." This, however, I thought it not advisable to do, for fear of being separated from my men.

When I returned home, at half past three in the morning, Poinçot, general of brigade, formerly a garde-du-corps, with whom I had been on terms of friendship and intimacy in the army of the Pyrenees, was announced as coming from General Lemoine, and delivered me a note to the following effect :

" General Lemoine, in the name of the Directory, requires the commander of the grenadiers of the Legislative Body to permit a column of 1,500 men, who are appointed to execute the orders of the government, to pass over the *Pont-Tournant*."

I replied, that " I was astonished, an old comrade, who ought to know me better, should consent to convey an order which, consistently with my honour, I could not obey." But he assured me, that all resistance would be useless, that my 800 grenadiers were already surrounded by 12,000 men, with 40 pieces of cannon. I replied, " that no force directed against the post I commanded should compel me to violate my duty, and that I could receive no orders but from the Legislative Body, which I would immediately go for."

At this moment, I heard a cannon go off, so near me that I imagined my post was already attacked. It was, however, only a signal. I now instantly ordered my grenadiers under arms, and went to the Thuilleries, accompanied by the chiefs of battalion, Pousard and Pleichard, both excellent officers, and in whom I had great confidence.

At the committee of inspection I found Generals Pichegru and Willot. I sent messengers to General Dumas, to the Presidents of both the

Councils; Lafond Ladebat for the Council of Elders, and Simeon for that of Five Hundred; and also to the deputies in the neighbourhood of the Thuilleries, whose residences I happened to know. I prevailed on General Pichegru to come and reconnoitre the position of the troops, who, we found, had already surrounded us, and I renewed my orders to Capt. Vallière, who commanded the post of the *Place de Carousel*, and Lieutenant Le Roy, who commanded that of the *Pont-Tournant*, to stand firm to their posts, and not to quit them without orders signed by me. We then returned to the committee, and as I was asking for orders how to dispose of my corps-de-réserve, a messenger arrived, with information that the iron gates of the *Pont-Tournant* had been forced. At the same instant, the divisions of Augereau and Lemoine joined, and the garden of the Thuilleries was filled with troops of both armies. Cannon were pointed against the hall of the Council of Elders, all the avenues were guarded, all the posts doubled and masked by superior forces. The post of the hall of the Council of Five Hundred, which was com-

manded by the brave Lieutenant Blot, had alone refused to open the iron gates, and mix with the troops of Augereau.

In this extremity I positively demanded an order for the corps-de-réserve of grenadiers to be put in motion, and repel force by force. But the deputies replied, that all resistance would be useless, and prohibited me from firing.

It was then half past four o'clock, and General Verdière came to signify to the deputies already assembled, that he had orders to make them quit the palace, and to carry the keys to the Directory. Their refusal excited very warm altercations, but Verdière persisted in his demand, and prevailed with one of them to come down into the garden to speak to General Lemoine. Rovère went down also, and I accompanied them, with my two chiefs of battalion : but we did not find General Lemoine on the terrace. Verdière, however, advised the deputies to withdraw themselves *for their own safety* ; and upon their refusal, he stopped all the avenues, and said he

would go and take the instructions of the Directory.

I returned to my post, my corps-de-réserve, from whence I sent a confidential person to General Dumas, to warn him to be upon his guard. He received this message at the very moment when he was entering the court of the barracks, and I have heard from my brother exiles an account of the great efforts he made to join them. He penetrated as far as the terrace adjoining the wing of the Thuilleries, where the troops of Augereau were drawn up ; and, even after having learned that the inspectors were arrested, he was going up to the hall to share their fate, when his companions threw him a paper to desire him to make his escape. He had the good fortune to take it up without being noticed, and to pass the sentinels, who were ordered not to let any one quit the place.

At half after five, an aid-de-camp of General Augereau brought me the following order :

“ The commander of the grenadiers of the
 “ Legislative Body is ordered to proceed with his
 “ corps to the *Quay d’Orsay*, where he will wait
 “ for further orders.

(Signed) “ AUGEREAU.”

This order I refused to obey. I could no longer communicate with the committees, who were arrested and blockaded in the palace. I therefore waited with my corps for the orders of the two Councils ; and I must do my men the justice to declare that, hitherto, notwithstanding the critical situation in which we were placed, they kept their ranks with the most perfect firmness ; I did not hear a single murmur, and I believe that, so far from being seduced by a few obscure and factious intriguers, the majority were sound, and would have compelled their brethren to have fought bravely by their sides, had I been so fortunate as to have received an order to repel force by force. Having ranged my officers in a circle, to communicate the orders of General Augereau, almost all of them approved my conduct. This was the moment in which some fac-

tious men declared themselves. Captain Tortel exclaimed—" We are not Swiss!" Lieutenant Ménéguin was even so bold as to boast of being the principal author of the revolt of the *Gardes Françaises*. The under-lieutenant Devaux said—" I was wounded on the 13th Vendémiaire fighting against Louis XVIII., and I will not now fight for him." Another cried aloud—" The Councils are acting for the King; they are a set of miscreants, and ought to be exterminated." During these speeches and the disputes they occasioned among the officers, disorder began to spread among the ranks. The chief of brigade, Blanchard, who commanded under me, and who for two months had not dared to show himself, because I had discovered his intrigues, his connections with sanguinary men, and his rapacity in the administration of the corps, suddenly appeared and demanded a distribution of cartridges, on account, he said, of the danger that surrounded us. I felt indignant at his insolence, and I could not help pointedly expressing it to him. I observed, that the grenadiers participated in my indignation; though the same men, an

hour after, marched under an officer whom they despised, and followed him to the Directory. What a lesson to the commanders of troops!

A few moments after this scene, I ordered the ranks to open, that I might inspect my corps, who still kept a good countenance. I had proceeded as far as the third company, when I heard loud and repeated cries of *Vive la République!* and, at the same time, Augereau appeared at the head of so numerous a staff, that the first court of the barracks was quite full. There were above 400 officers of all ranks, among whom I perceived many justly celebrated men, particularly Santerre, Tunck, Yon, Rossignol, Puget, Barbantane, Châteauneuf-Randon, Bessierre, Fournier, Pâche, and the widow Ronsin, in an amazonian dress; also Dutertre and Peyron, both of whom had escaped from the gallies. In short, the very scum of our brave French armies, the leaders of all the revolutionary bands, rushed in a moment among the ranks of my grenadiers, all crying out *Vive la République!*

At

At this time, Augereau came directly up to me, and in his train, which separated me from my men, I perceived Blanchard stirring up his worthy friends, and mixing with the ranks. Among other ill-boding cries, I distinguished these words—"Soldiers, they want to treat you as they did the Swiss on the 10th of August."—"General Ramel," exclaimed Augereau, "why have you disobeyed the minister's orders and mine?"—"Because," replied I, "I received contrary orders from the Legislative Body."—"You have exposed yourself," returned he, "to be tried by a court-martial and shot."—"I have done my duty," replied I.—"Do you acknowledge me," said he, "as commander in chief of the division?"—"Yes," said I.—"Well," replied he, "I order you under arrest."—"I go," said I; and immediately was crossing the gallery of communication of the quarters of my grenadiers to my own apartment, when I heard that Augereau was following me with part of his staff. Among other menaces, I distinguished these words—"You shall suffer as much as you have made others suffer;" yet I never

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caused any one to suffer, except those miscreants who deserved it !

As he was now close to me, I put my hand on my sword ; upon which all of them fell upon me at once ; my sword was broken, I was dragged along, and my clothes were torn. The most furious of my assassins was a serjeant of grenadiers, named Viel, whom I had ordered under arrest a few days before. He now endeavoured to plunge his sabre into my body. It was Augereau himself who saved me from being murdered, and disengaged me from my assailants, crying out vehemently—" Leave him, leave him, do not kill him ; I promise you he shall be shot to-morrow !"

These miscreants now tore my hat, which had fallen in the contest, but not, as has been said, the badges of my military rank ; it was only for my blood they thirsted.

A faithful servant, who came out to meet me, was cut with a sabre in the face, and, being co-

vered with wounds, took refuge in my wife's chamber.

When I got home, I was not allowed to settle my affairs, but was conducted almost immediately to the Temple, together with my brother Henry, who obtained permission to accompany me. The jailor said, as we entered—"O! here " is one of them; the gentleman must be shown " into the *Chambre des Opinions*." This was the room in which the unfortunate Louis was imprisoned, nor had I any hope of quitting it in any other manner.

At half after eight, the jailor came to inform me, that the deputies arrested at the committee of inspection were just brought in. They were also shown into the King's apartment, and the communication with the rooms formerly occupied by the Queen and Princesses was left free. The arrested deputies were Pichegru, Willot, d'Auchy de Loire, Jarri, Lamétrie, Larue, Bourdon de l'Oise, and Durumas. We found at the Temple Commodore (Sir Sidney) Smith, la Vilheurnois,

Brothier and Duverne du Presle : but the last was removed to the prison called the *Maison de Force* immediately on our arrival. At noon, the deputy Aubry was brought in ; at half past three, Lafond Ladebat, President of the Council of Elders, Tronçon du Coudray, Marbois, and Goupil de Prefeln, all members of the same Council, These last were arrested at the house of Lafond Ladebat, under pretence that they were holding a seditious meeting.

They were first carried before Sotin, the Minister of Police, where they complained of the violence done to the representatives of the people, and demanded a sight of the order of the Directory. Sotin answered with a sneer : “ It is of
 “ very little consequence, gentlemen, to show you
 “ the orders; for when we come to these extremi-
 “ ties, it is the same thing whether we commit
 “ ourselves a little more or a little less.”

On the 19th, we heard an account of the sittings held by the minority of the two Councils under the eyes of the Directory, and that a law

had been passed, condemning us, without cause and without judgement, to be deported to the place fixed on by the Directory themselves. At this sentence we were much surprised; for we did not doubt but after our violent arrestation, a shorter and consequently less painful fate awaited us under the forms of military law.

Those of the imprisoned deputies who were not proscribed were now set at liberty; namely, Goupil de Prefeln, Laméttrie, d'Auchy, Jarri, and Durumas.

On the 20th, General Augereau gave orders in the following terms: "General Dutertre, commandant of the Temple, is ordered not to permit any communication with the deported deputies, whatever be the order under which it shall be demanded, or the authority by whom such order may be given, unless it be signed by me." This Dutertre had a month before come out of the galleys of Toulon, where he had been confined under sentence of a court-martial for robbery, assassination, and setting fire to houses in la Vendée.

On that day, our wives were allowed to come to the Temple. What heart-rending scenes ! what cruel separations ! I was not permitted to see mine except in the presence of an officer, who would not suffer us to whisper, or speak in the dialect of Languedoc, which he did not understand. Enraged at this restraint, I broke off my interview, and intreated my wife to leave me. She obeyed ; but her cries and sobs still vibrate in my ear !

The same day was brought to the Temple General Murinais, one of the inspectors of the hall of the Elders. This venerable old man had been arrested as he was going in perfect security to the Council.

On the 21st, I parted with my brother Henry, though I had great difficulty to induce him to leave me ; for he persisted in sharing my misfortunes, and without the assistance of my fellow prisoners, Tronçon du Coudray and Barbé Marbois, I should never have convinced him that he would do me more service by consoling my family for my loss, than by assisting me to bear my chains.

At midnight, the jailor came to inform us that the Minister of Police was just arrived with the Director Barthélemy, and that probably we were immediately to set off. Nor were we even allowed a quarter of an hour to collect our effects together, although none of us were at all prepared for so precipitate a departure.

When we came down to the foot of the tower we found Barthélemy between Augereau and Sotin, who, as he brought him to the Temple in his carriage, said to him : “ Such is the nature of revolutions! *we* triumph to-day; to-morrow, perhaps, *your* turn will come.” Barthélemy having asked him, if no misfortune had happened, and whether the public tranquillity had not been disturbed? Sotin replied : “ No ; the dose was a good one ; the people have swallowed the pill, and it has taken effect.”

When Sotin took leave of us, he affected to be gay, and said : “ Gentlemen, I wish you a good voyage.” Augereau called over the condemned, and, as we were named, a guard con-

ducted us to the carriages that were waiting for us, across a line of soldiers who insulted us. Some of us were even maltreated, and our faithful servants, among whom was my poor Etienne, whose face was gashed and disfigured with wounds, had not left the prison gate, where they had been watching for our departure, that they might bid us adieu, but they were repulsed, and struck by the soldiers, who cried out : “ This is “ not the promise that was ~~made us~~ ; why are “ they ~~suffered~~ to go away, and why are they “ carrying their effects with them ? ” Augereau observing our tranquillity, could not contain his rage, which he suffered to break forth in a manner that deserves to be recorded.

Le Tellier, servant to Barthélemy, came running up, as we were getting into the carriages, with an order from the Directory, permitting him to accompany his master. He delivered it to Augereau, who, having read it, said : “ You “ are determined, then, to share the fate of these “ men, who are lost for ever. Whatever events “ await them, be assured, they will never return.”

“ My

“ My mind is made up,” answered Le Tellier,
 “ I shall be but too happy to share the misfor-
 “ tunes of my master.”—“ Well, then,” replied
 Angereau, “ go! fanatic, and perish with him.”—
 At the same time adding: “ Soldiers, let this man
 “ be watched as closely as those miscreants.”
 Le Tellier now threw himself on his knees be-
 fore his master, who was but too happy at this aw-
 ful moment to press so affectionate a friend to his
 bosom. This worthy fellow has constantly shown
 the same courage and attachment, and we have
 always treated and considered him as one of our
 companions.

The four carriages in which the sixteen pri-
 soners were seated, without regard to the ill
 health and weakness of some of us, were placed
 upon four-wheeled waggons, nearly resembling
 gun-carriages. They were a kind of cage,
 secured on all their four sides with bars of iron
 breast high, which bruised us with the least
 shake or jolt. We were four in each carriage,
 besides a guard who carried the key of the pad-
 lock that fastened the iron grating by which we

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entered. General Dutertre commanded the escort, consisting of 600 men, infantry and cavalry, and two pieces of cannon. During the time that the carriages and cavalcade were preparing to move, in the court-yard of the Temple, we were loaded with insults by a considerable body of anarchists.

We set off at two in the morning of the 22nd. Fructidor (8 September), in dreadfully bad weather, and were made to traverse all Paris, which we were to quit by the *Barrière d'Enfer*, leading to the Orleans road: instead of going along the *Rue St. Jacques*, our escort turned to the right, after passing the bridge, and brought us by the Luxembourg Palace, where our melancholy funeral procession was detained more than three quarters of an hour. We saw lights in the apartments of the Palace; and, amidst the tumultuous joy of the guards, we heard the execrable Dutertre called to, and desired *to take good care of those gentlemen*. Some too well known members of the minority in the Council of Five Hundred, who were holding the celebrated permanent

sitting at the Odeum, came out to see us, and basely insulted us. They mixed with the *chasseurs* of the escort, gave them drink, and, approaching the carriages, drank our healths, and talked to us of *mercy* and *pardon*.

The stormy night, the glare of the fire-pots burning around the theatre of the Odeum, and the howlings of the terrorists, made this dreadful farewell a scene of horror truly worthy of the barbarians who gave it birth. At length, however, the escort passed along the *Rue d'Enfer*, and thus we quitted Paris.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived at Arpajon, which is eight leagues from Paris, extremely fatigued with the jolting of the waggons along this paved road; both Barthélemy and Barbé Marbois appeared almost exhausted. Yet, to our astonishment, in lieu of procuring us a comfortable lodging, that we might recover our strength, the commandant, Dutertre, conducted us to an obscure dirty prison. He watched our countenances as we quitted the carriages to enter

our dungeon, and was enraged that any of us should appear not to be affected by this accumulation of hardships. "These miscreants," cried he, "look as if they meant to brave me; but I will see if I cannot conquer this insolence." I had already laid myself down on some straw, together with several of my companions; Barthélemy, who was standing, raised his hands towards Heaven; Barbé-Marbois, who was very ill, arrived, and drawing back with horror at the sight and mephitic smell of this subterraneous dungeon, said to Dutertre: "Let me be shot immediately, and spare me the horrors of dying by inches." The latter smiled, and made a sign to the jailor to do his office. The jailor's wife then said, with an imprecation, to Marbois: "You pretend to be very nice; many men who are as good as you don't make such a pother." As she finished this speech she took him by the arm and threw him from the top to the bottom, and, notwithstanding our cries and those of our wounded fellow prisoner, this infernal fury immediately shut the door upon us, and left us in the dark to raise up our unfortunate friend, who was covered with

blood. Nor could we obtain for him either a surgeon or any other assistance ; not even a little water to wash his wounds, though his face was much bruised, and one of his jaw bones fractured.

On the 23rd Fructidor (9th Sept.), at noon, we passed through the little town of Etampes, too famous in the course of the revolution, for the commotions of the anarchists, and the murder of a respectable magistrate. Here Dutertre made us halt in the middle of the public square, and exposed us to the insults of the populace, who were suffered to collect around the carriages. We were hooted at, cursed, and covered with mud ; and in vain desired we might either go on, or be allowed to get out. Tronçon du Coudray, who was very ill, had gone into the same carriage with his friend Marbois, who had obtained a bundle of straw, as a favour, on account of his recent wound, and the fever it had caused. General Murinais, the Director Barthélemy, and Lafond Ladebat, had joined them. These five men, who were united by a similarity of opi-

nions and of views relative to the causes and consequences of the events of the 5th Sept., continued together during the remainder of our journey. At Etampes, which is in the department of the Seine and Oise, du Coudray, who was deputy for that department, was in the very district whose inhabitants had contributed to his election with the greatest ardour. He strongly felt the ingratitude and base desertion of his fellow-citizens; and, suddenly rising up, as if he had been at the tribune, " 'Tis I myself," said he, " 'tis your representative; do you know me in this iron cage? 'Tis I to whom you entrusted the guardianship of your rights, and it is in my person those rights have been violated. I am dragged to punishment without having been tried, or even accused. My crime is that of having defended your liberties and properties, endeavoured to procure peace for our country, and thus to restore your children to you. My crime is that of having been faithful to the constitution which we have sworn to maintain. And you this day repay my zeal and assiduity to serve and defend you, by uniting with

my executioners!" This vehement harangue of du Coudray, of which I have only given the outline, struck a momentary awe into this outrageous mob, among whom, no doubt, there could not be one true French citizen. They presently renewed their insults, which continued, without interruption, till some bread and wine were brought us for our dinner.

After being thus exposed, as it were, in a pillory, during thirteen hours, we set off to sleep at Angerville, which is four leagues from Orleans. Here Dutertre again persisted in crowding us into a dungeon, when Adjutant-General Augereau (who ought by no means to be confounded with the General of that name), being moved with compassion, took upon himself to lodge us at an inn; upon which Dutertre immediately put him under arrest, and sent him back to Paris.

Early on the 24th (10th Sept.) we arrived at Orleans, where we passed the remainder of the day and the following night in a house of confinement, formerly the convent of Ursulines.

Here we met with some feeling hearts, and the hand of humanity eluded the vigilance of our guard, and afforded us those consolations, the charms of which can scarcely be conceived by those who have not experienced them under circumstances of the deepest misery. Here we were not guarded by our escort, but by the Gendarmerie, whose commander discharged his duty with kindness and generosity. Two ladies, or rather two angels, having already made every necessary preparation at the Ursulines, disguised themselves in coarse dresses, to procure an opportunity of attending on us. They offered us such succours as we wanted, and also money: we thanked them affectionately for their kindness, and, though we declined their offers, have derived from the impression this generous action made upon our hearts, a consolation which has often supported our constancy in the hour of trial. At Orleans, we might have made our escape, not by the assistance of the generous ladies, but of persons whose names would in vain be sought for, and who would have devoted themselves for our safety; but we unanimously rejected

rejected the proposal. By some incomprehensible blindness, the majority of our party, and especially those of the Council of Elders, would at that time have thought we sullied our characters had we attempted to elude our sentence.

On the 25th (11th Sept.) we were carried from Orleans to Blois, where we no sooner arrived than we perceived an uncommon assemblage of watermen. Here the carriages were attacked; but Captain Gauthier, who commanded the cavalry of the escort, repulsed the wretches who were at the head of this commotion. We remarked very different impressions in the people: "There they are!" cried they; "there are the miscreants who killed the King! There are his assassins! They have loaded us with taxes; they eat our bread, and are the cause of the war." In short, all the reproaches which the people might justly have directed against their tyrants were lavished upon the victims of tyranny. We were lodged in a small and very damp church, where a little straw had been strewed on the pavement; and it was impossible for us to take

any rest. We endeavoured to learn the cause of these opposite movements of the people, and were informed that the celebrated Abbé Grégoire had procured us this kind reception by his pastoral letters.

On the 26th (12th September), before we quitted our prison at Blois we were witnesses to the last interview and cruel separation of Mr. and Madame de Marbois. This lady was at her estate near Metz when she was informed of the arrest of her husband. On this she flew to Paris, but did not arrive there till after our departure. She immediately followed us, but without waiting to apply to the Directory for permission to see her husband wherever she might overtake us, and the commissary of the government at Blois made use of this pretext to refuse her request. She was in like manner repulsed by the commandant, Dutertre. At length, however, and only a few moments before our departure, by shewing the jailors the permission she had obtained to see her husband in the Temple, she procured that of entering our prison, when she was only allowed a

quarter of an hour, during which an officer held his watch in his hand. A little before the last minute was expired, Marbois collected his strength, and led his worthy help-mate towards us; but Barthélemy and du Coudray were already so much altered that she could not recollect them. " My friends," said her husband, " I present to you Madame de Marbois, who, while parting with me, is desirous to take her leave of you." We gathered round her with transport; and she wished us, not courage, but health and strength. She now burst into tears, and Marbois said, with firmness: " Leave us, leave us; it is time we should part." He then embraced her and carried her in his arms to the gate of the prison, which he opened and shut again himself, after which he fell on the pavement in a swoon. We immediately flew to his assistance. " My friends," said he, when partly recovered, " here I am again entire. I have found again the source of my courage." Accordingly from that time he was less depressed by his illness, recovered a part of his strength, and with it that firm and serene

countenance which is the natural companion of fortitude.

The preparations for our departure from Blois were protracted so long that we had reason to fear we were to remain there; and it was by a singular circumstance we learnt the motives of this delay. The Adjutant-General of our escort, Colin, well known in consequence of the part he took in the massacres of the 2nd. of September, and a man named Guillet, his worthy companion, came into the prison about 10 o'clock, when they both seemed much agitated. "Gentlemen," said the municipal officer of the guard, who had never left us since our arrival, "why do you not set off? every thing has been long ready; the crowd increases; and your conduct is more than suspicious. I have seen and heard both of you instigating the people to commit violence on the prisoners, and I declare to you that if any accident happens I will cause my deposition to be recorded in the books of the municipality." These two villains stammered out some paltry excuses, and we were accom-

panied at our departure with the same clamours, imprecations and menaces, with which we had been received the day before.

That night (12th September), we slept at Amboise, in so small a room that we could not lay ourselves down upon the straw, and we felt very impatient to arrive at Tours that we might take a little rest.

We arrived there on the 27th (13th September). This town had lately experienced a commotion in which some blood had been spilt. The anarchists, who had long been kept down, had broke out under pretext of the pretended conspiracy of the Legislative Body. Emboldened by the new measures of the government, whose protection had been given to miscreants, and not content with oppressing good citizens from whom that protection was withdrawn, they attacked them with arms, and imbrued their hands in their blood. The constituted authorities had lately undergone what, in the language of these men, is called a purification, and the places of

the true magistrates elected by the people were now filled by the same men who, during the war of La Vendée, had become eminent among informers and executioners. We were carried to the prison of the Conciergerie, which was full of galley-slaves in chains, and we were put together with them into a court surrounded by dungeons, where they were shut up at night, and one of which was now appropriated for us. Our guard had scarcely left us, before the convicts with one accord withdrew into a corner, and while they thus modestly kept their distance, one of them said to us : “ Gentlemen, we are sorry to see you
 “ here. We are not worthy to approach you ;
 “ but if in the miserable condition to which we
 “ are reduced we can render you any service,
 “ deign to accept it. The dungeon appointed
 “ for you is the coldest and narrowest of all ; and
 “ we request you to accept of ours which is
 “ larger and less damp.” We thanked these poor wretches, and accepted this singular hospitality, offered us by hands which had been sullied with crimes, but by hearts which were open to pity.

It was above thirty hours since we had eaten, when a pound of bread and half a bottle of wine each, which was all our allowance, were brought to us.

On the 28th (14th September), we arrived at St. Maure. Our escort was extremely fatigued, for we made double the usual marches, and no halts. The infantry had been exchanged in the garrisons; but the cavalry were quite exhausted. Dutertre finding here a moveable column of the national guards, consisting of peasants, placed us in their custody, the better to refresh his troops, and rendered the municipality responsible for our persons. And here let me pay a tribute of gratitude and remembrance for the compassionate attentions we received from the inhabitants of St. Maure, who procured us that wholesome food of which we were in extreme want. We were now less narrowly guarded, and such was the negligence or rather the benevolence of these good peasants, the majority of whom were armed only with pikes, that we could go even to the high road without being attended or watched by the senti-

nels. As we were within musket shot of the forest, some of us proposed, and myself among the number, to take advantage of this favourable opportunity. Not that I would have abandoned any one of my brothers in misfortune, but I was extremely desirous they should all determine to make their escape. Unfortunately they could not agree upon this measure. All the members of the Council of Five Hundred were for escaping, but those of the Council of Elders persisted in remaining. They said, it was impossible but the nation should, sooner or later, open their eyes, and, at length, grant them judges. "And are you not already judged, condemned and abandoned?" replied their colleagues; "make use of an opportunity which will never again return." Willot, who knew the country from having been there in the service, strongly persisted in his opinion, and offered to be our guide. Marbois declared that he had rather submit to his fate than furnish his enemies with weapons against him. Tronçon du Coudray said positively, that he thought it his duty to his country and to his constituents, ungrateful as they were,

were, to act consistently with his character, and to wait in prison till a proper time for his justification. As to the agents of the King, they doubted not they should be liberated by some party of Royalists before they arrived at Rochefort; and the Abbé Brothier heartily pitied us Constitutionalists, because we should be very ill received, and, perhaps, cut to pieces by the Vendéens. The members of the Elders, however, prevailed, and, day appearing, we again beheld our iron cages, and the Cerberus Dutertre.

We set off, and proceeded a long time amidst this extensive forest, which might so well have afforded us an asylum, and protected our flight. The roads were so bad, and our waggons jolted so severely, that we asked in vain for permission to walk on foot in the midst of the escort; for when once we had entered the carriages, and the iron grating was locked, they were not opened again till night. Even Pichegru and myself, though still young and hardened by the fatigues of war, supported this with difficulty; but the old men, and Marbois, Barthélemy, and du

G

Coudray, who were ill, suffered inexpressible pain. At our arrival, our treatment was still more cruel. Every night we were exhibited as a sight to the people, and then shut up in prisons, when we were worse accommodated and fed than the vilest criminals.

That of Chatellerault, where we arrived on the 29th (15th Sept.), appeared the worst we had yet occupied. Here we were shut up in so infectious a dungeon, that several of us swooned, and we should all have been stifled, had not the door, at which sentinels were placed to watch us closely, been speedily opened. Marbois was very ill, and du Coudray, who was attending him, was sitting on the straw, when a poor wretch, who had been in close imprisonment, came to visit us in our dungeon. He hastened to bring us some fresh water, and offered his bed to Marbois, who accepted it, and was somewhat better after this repose. "Be patient, gentlemen," said this man, "in time we accustom ourselves to every thing."

On the 30th (16th Sept.), we were treated but little better at Poitiers, although some persons, whom prudence forbids me to name, exerted themselves to give us some proofs of their kindness. This was the native place of the deputy Thibaudeau, a member of the Council of Five Hundred, who, being excepted from the list of proscriptions, had the courage and generosity to demand the honour of being deported.

On the 17th Sept., we arrived at Lusignan. The prison of this little town being too small to hold all sixteen of us, Dutertre gave orders that we should pass the night in the carriages in the middle of the public square; notwithstanding the heavy rain and cold wind we had endured throughout the day. The mayor and the commandant of the national guard, who was an old man of great humanity, offered to be responsible for us, and, with great difficulty, obtained permission to lodge us in an inn. Scarcely were we housed, before we saw a courier arrive. Each of us formed his own conjectures; some suddenly conceived hopes, and all of us thought some

new event had taken place. But we soon found the object of his embassy was of little importance. It was merely an order from the Directory to the Adjutant-General Guillet, to arrest and bring his general, Dutertre, to Paris, on account of the extortions and peculations he had committed since our departure, and the 800 louis-d'ors he had received for the expences of the journey; for which he provided by requisitions from the municipalities. I confess that I received some pleasure from seeing this wretch thus punished by his masters before he had completed the mission with which they had entrusted him, and which he so well discharged. When I heard the carriage that was intended for him approach, I was desirous of seeing his countenance in my turn. My curiosity, however, had nearly cost me my life. As I opened the window, a sentinel from without, apparently in conformity to former orders from Dutertre, fired at me, and the ball broke the bar above my head,

I have already said that the arrest of Dutertre was to us an event of but little importance, because

the Adjutant-General Guillet, who succeeded him, was no better than his predecessor. Of this we had a proof the next day (the 18th Sept.) at St. Maixent, where he arrested the mayor before our eyes, because, moved with compassion at our deplorable situation, he had said to us, with great humanity: "Gentlemen, I feel much for you, and every good citizen participates in my sentiments." This act of violence produced such discontent and murmuring, that Guillet was obliged to set this worthy man at liberty. It was at this place the descriptions of our persons were taken. An officer of the staff called us two by two, interrogated us, and dictated the description to the *Brigand* Cordebar (the same who was condemned at Vendôme, together with Babœuf). Here he acted in the capacity of secretary to the commandant of the escort. There is no kind of insult and gross abuse that these wretches did not lavish upon us. "And thou," said one of them, "what trade or calling didst thou follow?"—"That," returned I, "which villains like thee have dishonoured; I am a soldier."

As yet we had received no information relative to the fate that awaited us, or where we were going; nor did we even know of our proscription, but by listening to the criers about the Temple. Even the pretended law of the 19th Fructidor (5th Sept.) had not been officially communicated to us. On our arrival at Niort, on the 19th Sept., being extremely desirous to read the public papers, we asked for them with great earnestness. We were in the dungeon of the castle, a dark damp hole, more than 25 feet below the surface of the earth; and the municipal officer who was upon guard over us promised to send us, the next day, all the newspapers he could collect. But the ex-conventionalist, le Cointre Puiravaux, one of the vilest tools of the anarchists, and who was commissary of the government there, forbade all communication with the deported persons, under the severest penalties. On this occasion, none of us escaped the bad effects of the dampness of our dungeon, which we quitted the next day (20th Sept.) almost unable to move, and went to sleep at Surgères, where the roads divide that lead to Rochelle and

Rochefort. Here the hurry and bustle we observed around us, the couriers that were going and coming, the extraordinary precaution of placing the sentinels within our dungeon, every thing led us to imagine we were near the end of our journey; and we hoped that at length we should be indulged with a few days repose, and receive the effects and the succours of all kinds, which our precipitate departure had prevented our bringing away with us. We even flattered ourselves that, after having rid themselves of the men whom the public esteem rendered formidable to them, the Directory, confiding in the stupor of the nation, would not act with a useless severity towards us, that could only increase the general hatred, of which they were the object. We were deceived; for honest men will ever be deceived when they attempt to speculate on the conduct of villains, or to calculate the degrees of criminality they will incur.

On the 21st September, we left Surgères at three o'clock in the morning, and by the most dreadful roads, where we were extremely bruised on

all sides for nine tedious leagues. We arrived at three in the afternoon in sight of Rochefort. But in lieu of entering the city, as we hoped, our cavalcade turned off along the glacis, and going round the city, ~~directed~~ its course to the port. This was a most awful moment ; for we perceived but too clearly that our fate was determined, and that we were about to be separated, perhaps for ever, from every thing that can attach men to life. The most ill-omened presages now surrounded us. The garrison of Rochefort lined the hedge upon the road, and a crowd of sailors made the air re-echo with the ill-boding cry of “ *To the water, to the water !* ” Thus we arrived on the banks of the Charente, where the innumerable workmen of the dock-yards, the soldiers of the garrison, and the sailors, ran to the water-side, and, crowding round our carriages and our escort, cried out aloud—“ *Down with the tyrants ; make them drink out of the large cup.* ”

Such were the farewell salutations we received from our fellow-citizens, while an adjutant or commissary of marine, named la Coste, whose
face,

face, which was furrowed with scars, I seemed to recollect, called over the deported persons, and received us from the commandant of the escort, Guillet.

As we came out of the carriages the commissary la Coste put us into a boat : but he found M. de Marbois in so bad a state of health, that at first he refused to take him on board, declaring that he was dying, and could not bear two days voyage. Upon this, Guillet put himself in a passion, threatened to arrest la Coste, and swore he would denounce him and have him cashiered. Accordingly, Marbois was carried into the boat, and Guillet embarked along with us.

We were now taken on board a two-masted vessel, which was moored about the middle of the river, and called the *Brilliant*, being a small privateer taken from the English. Some ill-looking soldiers rudely made us go down between decks, pushing and crowding us towards the fore-castle, whilst we were stifled with the smoke of the kitchen.

H

We were suffering extremely from hunger and thirst ; for we had neither eaten nor drank during thirty-six hours. A pail of water was let down in the midst of us, and a couple of the crew's loaves were thrown down beside it, with a gesture of the ' utmost' contempt. We were, however, unable to eat on account of the smoke and our very uneasy situation. In the mean while, the sentinels, who pressed us more and more, held the most horrid language. Pichegru having resented the insolence of the soldier who was in the midst of us, the latter replied to the general—" Thou hadst better be silent, for thou art not yet out of our power." This was a boy of fifteen or sixteen years of age.

We had reason to believe that the place of our deportation was no other than the bed of the river Charente, and that we were already on board one of those horrid instruments of execution, a vessel with a trap-door, invented to quench the thirst of tyrants for human blood, and to murder in the dark as rapidly as possible as many victims as their thoughts or their caprice could desire.

Thus we continued till night. What a dreadful night ! we listened with anxious suspense, constantly expecting the fatal moment to arrive ; and when the sailors began to hand the ropes, we doubted not but our last hour was come. But instead of this the Brilliant had set sail, and was going down the river. The tide, however, was against us, and at eleven o'clock at night we moored in the great road. A few moments after we had cast anchor, six of us were called up on deck. This was a dreadful moment !—I was not of the number of those who were first called, and we bid, as we thought, a final adieu to our companions. This successive calling us up, the ferocious joy of the soldiers and of the crew, the presence of Guillet, convinced us our fellow prisoners were taken from us to execution. In this cruel suspense we remained near half an hour, in silent horror and resignation.

More of us were afterwards called up in our turn, and then only four remained. Aubry, Bourdon, Dossonville, and Willot were those who experienced this last anguish, this pro-

longation of torture : till, at length, contrary to our expectation, we all met again on board a corvette, named *la Vaillante*, commanded by Captain Julien, who, as he received us on board, desired us to be patient ; and assured us that while he punctually performed the orders of the Directory, he would neglect nothing to soften our afflictions. The commandant Guillet followed us on board the *Vaillante*, and, perceiving the impression his presence made on us, said ; “ Yes, gentlemen, here I am again.”

We were now ordered down between decks, “ Do they intend to starve us to death ?” cried the unfortunate Dossonville, who suffered more cruelly than any of us in consequence of the want of food. “ No, no, gentlemen,” said an officer of the corvette, laughing, (this was des Poyes, formerly an officer on board the Royal fleet) “ your supper will be brought you presently.”—“ Do but give me some fruit,” said Marbois, almost expiring. Immediately after two loaves of the crew’s bread were thrown down from above board. This was all the promised

supper we received, and however frugal it was for our miserable party, who had not eaten during forty hours, we have often looked back to it with a longing recollection : for that was the last time we tasted bread !

This last removal to a vessel of war, the motions of the crew in preparing to get under sail, the reception of the captain, the humanity that appeared in his language, notwithstanding the severity of his countenance, and his firm tone in the presence of his crew, every thing concurred in convincing us, or inducing us to believe, that, at least, we were not to be speedily put to death—when, on a sudden, Captain Julien, who, a moment before, had been talking with Guillet near the edge of the hatchway, came down between decks, accompanied by some armed soldiers, and distributed hammocks to only twelve of us, whom he called to receive them. Those who had none, were Willot, Pichegru, Dossonville, and myself. We were separated from our companions by the guard that attended Captain Julien, who himself ordered us to go

down into the boatswain's store-room, saying:
 " As for you four gentlemen, that is to be your
 " lodging."

This unexpected blow seemed as much to affect our twelve companions as ourselves; nor would they consent to be separated from us; but requested to be treated with equal barbarity. Tronçon du Coudray and Barbé Marbois in particular exclaimed against this separation, and insisted strongly on our sharing the same fate. Barthélemy and his faithful le Tellier, seeing us dragged away by the soldiers into the store-room, ran to the hatchway and jumped down with us; upon which the captain threatened to make them go up again by means of the bayonet; but they did not yield to his menaces; they yielded only to our urgent entreaties.

Thus four of us now remained in the profoundest darkness, in that horrid dungeon, infected by the exhalations of the hold, and by the cables, without hammocks or coverings, or any thing on

which to lay our heads ; though unable to hold ourselves upright.

Our twelve fellow prisoners were also extremely confined between decks, over our heads, with the hatchways shut, and, like us, entirely deprived of air, of motion, and of the necessities of life.

The corvette set sail at four o'clock in the morning, as we perceived by the cries of the crew, and, soon after, by the motion of the waves.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 22nd. of February one of the hatchways was opened, we heard the bell ring for the crew's breakfast, and a biscuit for each of us was thrown down.

Our companions now desired the captain to be called ; upon which he came to the hatchway : " Deported !" said the captain, " what do you want with me ?"—" To tell you," said Marbois, " that the biscuit we have just received is a kind

“ of food to which none of us are accustomed.
 “ Some of us are old, and cannot chew it, and
 “ besides, that given us is so rotten, that none of
 “ your crew would eat it. We desire you to in-
 “ form us of the orders you have received relative
 “ to us.”—“ Deported,” replied the captain, “ I
 “ have no other biscuit to order you; ’tis the food
 “ I am to give you. Take what is offered, and
 “ think yourselves happy that I do not more ri-
 “ gorously execute the orders I have received.
 “ ’Tis very singular, that, in your present situation,
 “ you should demand a sight of my orders. I have
 “ nothing to communicate.”—“ As I have per-
 “ formed several long voyages,” replied Marbois,
 “ I must inform you, that if you keep us thus
 “ closely shut up, deprived of the external air,
 “ and without those precautions which are in-
 “ dispensably necessary to prevent our rendering
 “ that air we breathe infectious; not only you
 “ will kill us in a very few days, but you will have
 “ the plague on board your ship, and lose your
 “ crew.”—“ Well,” said the captain, as he went
 away, “ I shall see what I can do when we have
 “ got out of sight of the French coast!”

At

At noon a biscuit each was again brought us, and a bucket full of gourganés or large beans boiled, and without any kind of seasoning, was set down for us. This was afterwards our daily allowance, and the only food that was given us during the whole voyage. With this, two cabin boys were appointed to serve us. He that waited on our fellow prisoners was named Aristides, and was a very handsome and a very good lad; but ours was an ill-looking, ill-disposed boy. The characters of these attendants, the only persons with whom we could communicate, was of great importance to our fate; and Aristides had a considerable share in the consolations which we very rarely experienced—the good little Aristides!

Such was our lot on board this floating tomb, which tore us from our native soil, and was carrying us to an unknown country.

Scarcely had we got out to sea before the winds became contrary, and the tempest so violent, that the captain was obliged to put into the road of Rochelle, where we cast anchor before night.

I

About eleven o'clock the next day (23rd Sept.) Admiral Martin came on board the corvette, notwithstanding the bad weather, bringing with him Captain la Porte, who had orders from the Directory to take the command instead of Captain Julien. This event we learnt merely by listening to the proclamation of Admiral Martin, who ordered the crew to obey their new captain.

We soon perceived, by the manner in which Captain la Porte set out, that under the command of Captain Julien we had not yet sunk to the lowest state of misery. We heard him with a harsh thundering voice, like that of a speaking trumpet, haranguing his crew as follows: "Soldiers, I order you to watch these great culprits closely; and you, sailors, I forbid you, under pain of death, to communicate, in any manner whatever, with those miscreants." He then went his rounds, and called us over; and, having examined us closely, said; "Gentlemen, you are very fortunate to have been treated with so much clemency."

The winds were contrary, and there was a great swell in the sea. About three o'clock the same day (23rd Sept.), a boat put off from Rochelle, and made towards the corvette with all the force of their oars. On being hailed, they answered they had some effects belonging to the deported persons: but Captain la Porte forbade them to board us, and threatened to sink them. The boat, however, was already under the stern of the *Vaillante*; and the son of Laffond Ladebat declared his name, supplicating for permission to see his father and give him some clothes. But the captain was inflexible to the groans of this wretched father, who, hearing the voice of his son, cried out with rage, and struggled between decks. He was equally inflexible to the tears and cries of the young man, who, full of despair, supplicated on his knees that he might be permitted, for this last time, to embrace his father. "No, no," cried la Porte; "take thyself away immediately, or I will sink thee." He only permitted young Laffond to deliver the portmanteau he brought to the sailors, and then ordered the boat to keep off, together with this af-

fectionate son, who never afterwards beheld his father.

An hour after this heart-rending scene, the captain got under sail, notwithstanding the tempest, thus braving all the dangers of the Bay of Biscay even during the equinoctial gales, not only that we might incur this additional risk, but hoping, no doubt, that by this means we should escape the English. Thus we a second time quitted the coasts of France at five o'clock in the afternoon, on the 23rd of September. The night was very stormy, and we had nearly been lost in doubling the reefs of the Pertuis d'Antioche. The next day, however, (24th Sept.) the captain was again obliged to come to, and cast anchor nearly abreast of the mouth of the river of Bourdeaux, in the road of Blaye.

I can give no account of the nautical manœuvres of our ship, nor can I add any thing to what I have already said, of our situation during the first days of our voyage; for, notwithstanding the illness which the rolling of the ship occasioned

in most of us, we had not yet obtained permission to go upon deck, and the hatches being constantly shut on account of the bad weather, we were all in the greatest agony.

On the 25th, the winds having abated, we again got under sail. It was not, however, till four days after (on the 29th Sept.), that we were permitted to go upon deck for an hour ; one half of us being called up at four o'clock, and the other half at five. During these two hours, the soldiers were under arms, and the deported were only allowed to walk in the gangway between two masts. They were prohibited from speaking ; and all the crew were forbid to say any thing to them.

The detachments which had been put on board the *Vaillante* to guard us, chiefly consisted of marines sent home from the Islands of France and Bourbon by Messrs. de Circey, together with the commissaries of the Directory, who had been sent to those colonies to carry out the decrees which had disorganized and destroyed the French set-

lements at the Antilles. These men had formerly been selected from among the revolutionary bands of the committee of Nantes, so famous in the annals of terror by the massacres and the drownings of the priests who were sentenced to deportation !

We heard them relate to each other their various exploits. One boasted of having, during a march, assassinated his captain in the back, and thrown him into a ditch, because he suspected him of aristocracy ; another coolly enumerated how many priests he had drowned in the Loire ; a third explained to his comrades, how these drownings were performed, and the grimaces of the unfortunate wretches at the moment of submersion : several of them bragged of having killed with their oars those who, after passing through the trap-door in the drowning vessels, endeavoured to save their lives by swimming ; and they acknowledged that those who had sent them back from the Island of Bourbon had done well, for that otherwise they would have put that colony *à la hauteur de la révolution* !

If these monsters suspended for a moment their horrid conversations, it was to sing disgusting songs. They chose the time of our rest, to place themselves by the hatchway, and howl out their obscenities, their blasphemies, and their songs of cannibals. If we requested their indulgence, they loaded us with abuse, and immediately resumed their infernal chorusses,

On the eighth day of our voyage, when we were permitted to breathe for an hour each day, only three of us, Tronçon du Coudray, Pichegru, and la Vilheurnois, were able to avail themselves of this liberty. The rest had not strength enough to go upon deck. I was myself eight-and-twenty days without being able to go quite out of the hole we occupied ! The old General Murinais made an effort to climb upon deck, but his strength failed him, and he fell from the upper deck into the hold. We immediately hastened to his assistance, and thought he was killed. In the mean while, some of the sailors slid down the rope into the hold, and assisted us to lift up this poor old man, who was unable to

move, and whose face was terribly bruised, and his white hair covered with blood.—But the ferocious captain ran to the edge of the hatchway, and called aloud: “ Sailors, you know your orders, “ which prohibit you from holding any communication with the deported. Come away, and “ let a glass of water be given to the sick man.”

Captain la Porte did not omit any species of torment that might contribute to make us sink under our calamities; and with a refinement of barbarity, would not allow us the use of steps to go upon deck; so that, being obliged to swarm a rope in the clear of the hatchways, those of the prisoners who were too weak for that exertion, and to whom the fresh air was most necessary, could not procure that indulgence.

The most ordinary, the vilest accommodations and conveniencies, the most necessary utensils were denied us; and when we asked, as a favour, for a little straw, to prevent us from being bruised by the rolling of the ship—“ They are “ laughing at me,” said the captain; “ the boards “ are

“ are too soft for those rascals. I wish I could
 “ have the place paved for them.”

Our fellow prisoners represented to the captain, by the interposition of the good little Aristides, that they had no spoons, or cups, or basons to separate their portions; but the captain replied: “ What occasion for spoons to eat *gour-*
 “ *ganes* and biscuit? Have not those villains
 “ fingers? and do they not know how to drink
 “ out of a bucket? Besides, I will not be troubled;
 “ they must know that, in their present situation,
 “ all their applications are perfectly useless.”

On the fourteenth day of our voyage, the want of air and of food had reduced most of us to the last extremity; and in the momentary visits which the surgeon paid us, he told us, we only suffered from the sea-sickness, and that as for the scurvy, we should find means of cure on shore, for Guiana abounded in turtles,

Pichegru was the only one of the four prisoners in the store-room who was not affected

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with sea-sickness; but he suffered so much the more severely, in consequence, by hunger, and had frequent paroxysms of rage. But as he had more strength than the rest, he paid great attention to his fellow prisoners.

At seven in the morning of the 4th October, the hatches were opened to air the ship. A little more light than usual now cheered our dungeon, where we seemed struggling with death itself, and our languishing features could scarcely express our mutual adieus; when suddenly the commandant of the marine guard of the ship, the worthy Capt. Hurto, whom we had only remarked for the decency of his behaviour towards us, jumped into the hold, and, falling amidst us, hurt his leg. "Gentlemen," cried he, in great agitation, "do not ruin me, do not ruin me: but I cannot bear all these horrors. Here is tea and sugar; Maître Dominique will bring you some hot water. Do you understand me, Maître Dominique? Him you may trust; but, for God's sake, do not ruin me! I must keep my station, that I may support my family, and my poor dear wife!" He could

scarcely utter these words, for his voice was almost stifled with sobs, while he exclaimed: " Oh Heavens ! And 'tis I, 'tis I that am compelled to execute these horrors ! "

Presently after, Maître Dominique brought us some hot water and a bason. This refreshment was to us as welcome as the manna from Heaven. It not only restored us to life, but what still more reanimated us, and again opened our hearts to a ray of pleasure, was the unexpected humanity of this beneficent action : this proof that Providence had not utterly abandoned us ; and that there were still some angels of consolation amidst the demons that surrounded us.

On the 7th of October, we were in sight of the coasts of Spain. Marbois remarked it, and learnt from a sailor, who had privately sold him some bread made of Indian corn, that we were abreast of St. Andero, and that some people from the coast, towards which we were making, had brought us some refreshments. He thought that, on this occasion, we ought to make one

more attempt to prevail with the captain ; that this would be our last opportunity of procuring fresh provisions ; and that, perhaps, his avarice might, for once, overpower his cruelty, and induce him to permit persons to go on shore to purchase for us the articles we might want. Marbois, therefore, wrote a letter, which was carried to the captain by the faithful Aristides, and which was as follows :

“ Having had no notice of our embarkation
 “ for so long a voyage, we had no opportunity
 “ to make the least provision for it ; you have
 “ not communicated the orders and instructions
 “ you have received relative to our treatment
 “ on board, and it is impossible you should have
 “ orders to starve us to death. We must there-
 “ fore conclude, the barbarities you exercise
 “ towards us are an abuse of your authority.
 “ Reflect that you may one day repent of your
 “ conduct ; that our blood will fall upon
 “ your own head ; and that, perhaps, to all
 “ France, but certainly to our families, to our
 “ brothers and our sons, you will have to give

“ an account of the lives of mén whom chance
“ has placed in your hands.

“ We desire, that before we leave the Spanish
“ coasts and the Bay of St. Andero, you will send
“ a boat ashore, to purchase, at our expence, those
“ provisions which are indispensably necessary for
“ us.”

Captain la Porte replied : “ I have no ven-
“ geance to fear; I shall not send on shore; I shall
“ not in any respect change the orders I have
“ given; and I will have the first flogged with
“ a cat-o’nine tails who importunes me with his
“ remonstrances.”

On the morning of the 9th October, we learnt by Aristides that we had at length doubled Cape Ortegal, and the evening of the same day, when Pichegru came down from above board, he told us we had lost sight of the coasts of Europe, and were steering to the northward with a fair wind. The corvette *la Vaillante* is a very good sailor, and made as much as 12 knots an hour

when we had a fresh breeze. And here let me observe a circumstance, which, however, is no otherwise remarkable than from its singular and unfortunate coincidence. I mean that Willot, when commandant at Bayonne, where this corvette was built, had been its godfather, and thus launched, as it were, from its cradle, that very ship on board of which he was now lingering in chains.

From the first day we were permitted to walk upon deck, we endeavoured to discover the dispositions of the crew, by observing their countenances. We already perceived, that Maître Dominique, who was first maître d'équipage, a man about 60 years of age, seemed affected whenever one of us came forth, like a spectre from the tomb; nor could he even fix his eyes upon us without evident marks of sensibility. We have often beheld him, sitting by the main-mast, shedding tears, as we walked to and fro. We learnt from Captain Hurto that it was Maître Dominique, who, when on watch in the night time, used to throw pieces of bread and

cheese below, although having lost all his teeth he deprived himself of his allowance of bread to give it to us. The first time he brought us hot water under pretence of cleaning the pump, we crowded round him to express our gratitude; and this man, whose tone was severe and even brutal to the sailors, this worthy man sunk almost senseless in our arms. "Ah, Sirs," cried he, "this voyage will cost me my life, because I am compelled to conceal my anguish."

Dominique was incessantly employed in procuring us some comfort or alleviation, though he had considerable difficulty in eluding the vigilance of the captain. It was Aristides that generally performed his commissions, and when he was not satisfied with his attention or acuteness, he beat the poor little fellow. We had the mortification to hear his cries on these occasions, and trembled lest this should betray the kindness of Dominique. In the meanwhile, the soldiers remarked the frequent visits of Aristides, reproached him with the care he took of us, and

beat him too : but this excellent lad said nothing, and made no complaints.

Dominique contrived sometimes to purchase bread and wine for us, for the former of which he paid 4 livres the pound, and as much per glass for the latter,

One day, he came to us sparkling with joy, and told M. de Marbois that he would provide us with a supper, desiring we would not eat the beans of our allowance. Accordingly, at midnight, he sent us the back of a roast pig together with a loaf and some wine. This was assuredly his private stock, and the last resource of the worthy Dominique.

His active humanity, however, at length betrayed his secret, and he was discovered by the captain, who, in the presence of the whole crew, called him to give an account of his conduct, and threatened him with chains and death. We heard this scene. Dominique did not belie his
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general character ; he confessed all. " I regret," said he, with firmness, " that I could not offer the
 " Gentlemen more. I would alleviate their sufferings even at the expence of my blood. Now
 " order me to be shot immediately. What would
 " you more ? Order me to be shot."

The captain remained totally silent—and Lieutenant Dubourg took the part of Dominique ; the second maître d'équipage, Choëpuiet, had participated in his honourable crimes ; and perhaps la Porte was not so sure of his crew as of his soldiers. Dominique had taken charge of several letters for our families which have been faithfully delivered ; but Heaven has robbed us of an opportunity of expressing our gratitude to this virtuous man, or rather has itself rewarded him. He died soon after the return of the Vaillante.

Our situation sometimes awakened emotions of tenderness in the hardest hearts. One day, the aged General Murinais was sitting by one of the chace guns on which he leaned,

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and while the crew were at supper he was endeavouring to chew the bad biscuit that was given us : but having lost all his teeth, he could neither bite it nor soften it. The captain, passing near him, was suddenly struck with the fine countenance of this old man, whom the sailors beheld with involuntary respect. " I perceive," said he, " you cannot chew the biscuit. I will order you bread." But Murinais replied, with a firm and resolute voice : " No, Sir, I want nothing of you. Do your duty. I will not accept from you any preference. I will not have any thing in which my comrades do not participate. Leave me in peace."

About the 16th of October, as we were abreast of the Azores, the wind blowing a heavy gale, and the sea being very rough, we fell in with a Portuguese ship from the Brazil coast, to which the captain gave chase, and took her. In manning her, the corvette suffered a violent shock, while Captain la Porte and his crew were plundering the unfortunate passengers. In the mean while the worthy Maître Dominique took advantage of

the general disorder to get us some provisions, and brought us some nuts of Para and cocoa nuts.

Notwithstanding the occasional alleviations which the humanity of Captain Hurto and Maître Dominique, and the activity of Aristides procured us from time to time, we were cruelly tormented with hunger ; and yet the disgust we felt for the black biscuit, which we could not break without meeting with large living worms, did not yield to our ravenous appetite. The large beans or *gourganes* were still more loathsome to us ; for, whether from habitual filthiness or from intentional ill-will, they never brought us our bucket of food but we saw hairs and vermin swimming at top.

Ever since the violence of the illness, occasioned by the rolling of the ship, had ceased, the cruel famine that succeeded to it produced different effects in our wretched party. Most of us were extremely faint, weak, and almost totally exhausted ; especially Tronçon du Coudray, Laf-

fond Ladebat, and Barthélemy; while, on the contrary, Marbois, Willot, and Dossonville, had paroxysms of rage, and the coarse food which they eat in too small quantities, only excited their ravenous appetite. "The Directory, no doubt," said one of our fellow prisoners, "dine better than we do," as he looked one day at the bucket of black beans.—"Yes," replied a man who overheard us, and who never spoke to us but this once, though I dare not name him; "yes, the Directors have a better dinner; yet I doubt whether they dine with the same tranquillity, or whether they would shew the same fortitude were they in your place."

A much more remarkable circumstance occurs to my recollection, when a single word made our ferocious captain shudder. Marbois was walking on the deck, and suffered so much from hunger that he could no longer contain himself. The captain happening to pass him—"I am hungry, I am hungry," cried Marbois, with a strong but altered voice, and fixing his eyes, which sparkled with rage, on la Porte, "I

" am hungry ; give me something to eat, or
 " throw me into the sea." Our Cerberus seemed petrified, and ordered some food to be given to Marbois.

Another time, Willot, who was devouring with his eyes every thing he saw, bought of one of the sailors a pound of hog's-lard, which he immediately swallowed, and was afterwards extremely ill.

In this condition we arrived at the tropic. But the warmth of the climate in these smooth seas only added to the activity of our stomachs. The horrors of the famine we endured will never be effaced from my memory ! The unfortunate Dossenville uttered such cries of rage, that we were afraid he would bite us. The crew having caught a large shark, the captain ordered the staff portion, that is, the worst, to be given to us.

The oiliness, the unwholesomeness, and the hardness of digestion of this animal's flesh, is well known ; but we were so famished, we could

have devoured the whole shark. Dominique sent us word to refuse this allowance, and at night conveyed us the best part of the shark, well seasoned with onions, pimento, and plenty of vinegar: Dossonville alone eat, for his share, six pounds of it with the most alarming voraciousness; in consequence of which, he was soon after at death's door.

We sometimes obtained these alleviations by other hands besides the generous Dominique; but in these cases we were sure to pay a very high price for them: for our sufferings were increased with a view to plunder us: thus Dossonville gave a very good blue surtout, which was quite new, for a loaf of three pounds weight.

About this time the impatience of Plchegru furnished Captain la Porte with a pretext to add to the vexations he inflicted on the four prisoners of the store-room. The cabin boy who waited on us, persisted, notwithstanding our prayers and menaces, in always bringing us our bucket of beans so filthy that we could not touch them.

One day, Pichegru, who was tormented with hunger, waited with impatience even for this coarse food, and when the boy brought the bucket, which was almost covered with hairs, pushed him. The boy fell into the bucket, and, being burned, cried aloud and called for help. Pichegru accused himself of the fact; but we would not allow that he alone was culpable, and the captain ordered us all four to be put in irons, and even, during the two first days, with both feet. In this condition we suffered very severely. We had now been in chains during six days, nor did the captain seem at all disposed to relieve us from them, when fear, the only motive that can operate on the wicked, compelled him to that measure.

Ever since the capture of the Portuguese ship, the crew had been discontented with the unfairness of the captain in dividing the booty. Some of the sailors complained aloud, and compassion for our fate was combined with their murmurs. We were placed among them on the forecastle, and they had before their eyes generals loaded with

irons : Pichegru in particular attracted their attention, and increased the concern they felt. On the seventh day, the captain again sent us down into the store-room. This was certainly at that time a very necessary measure, for he had not a moment to lose.

A few days after, the *Vaillante* took another prize, an English ship bound from London to Antigua. On this occasion Captain la Porte seemed desirous of accommodating matters with his crew; for he permitted, and even himself gave an example of the most insatiable plunder; and an English colonel, a passenger on board this vessel, having demanded his portmanteau to be restored to him, was put into the store-room with us for several days.

After having passed the tropic, a Swedish vessel bound for St. Bartholomew took to flight before the *Vaillante*, and we could not join her till five o'clock in the afternoon, when the worthy Lieutenant Dubourg, the man whom we had observed to be affected at our wretched condition,

tion, was ordered to visit the ship. When he returned, he assured the captain, that her documents were perfectly regular. He added, " It is the same ship that lay near us in the road of Blaye, when we moored there, and has a great number of French West India planters on board, whom the law of the 19th Fructidor has obliged to quit France."—" And do you call this ship regular ?" cried la Porte, in a rage. " A Royalist could not say more."—" Go," said he, to another officer, " visit the ship again, and if there be any person on board who is condemned to deportation, it will be a lawful prize." Fortunately there were none of them on board ; but it will scarcely be believed, that, in order to be certain of this, by comparing the muster-role with the proscription-lists, this wretch asked us to lend him the Bulletin of the Laws, in which that sanguinary decree was detailed at full length; together with our pretended condemnation, and the fatal lists.

We had now been forty days at sea, and by the reckoning we were very near North Cape,

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although we had as yet observed no change in the colour of the water. Being quite becalmed, and the excessive heat completely overpowering us, Aubry, almost destitute of life, was groaning and complaining in a low voice, and, after enumerating our various miseries, "Alas!" cried he, "why has he not thrown us into the sea?"—"You are perfectly at liberty to do so," said the captain, who, though unknown to us, was near, "and you will give me pleasure. I will order a ladder, to assist you to get upon deck."

At length, on the 50th morning, at day-break, we heard a cry of "*Land! Land!*" which seemed to reanimate us with a sensation of new life. This was the first ray of hope that had dawned upon us since the 4th September, the day of our arrestation. Our executioner had even made us ardently desire the land of banishment,

When we went upon deck, we perceived the continent, and a land which was higher than the rest of the coast, and which was thought to be North Cape, though as yet an undistinguished

mass. This confused appearance was, however, sufficient to satisfy our impatience, and our imaginations already penetrated the forests before us; and, presenting to our minds the idea of an asylum, drew a picture of our retreat, which it even adorned with the sweets of peace and comfort. “ At length,” we said, “ we shall “ escape from the presence of our tyrants; we “ shall range at liberty over a land where we “ shall find some consolation in our misery, “ and, perhaps, some new friends. Our perse- “ cutors will be satisfied with having placed the “ ocean between them and us; they will think “ themselves safe and sufficiently revenged by “ our forlorn and deserted condition, and the “ profound oblivion that awaits us.”

To quit the Vaillante, to eat our fill, and to drink fresh water, now seemed to us the supreme good, for we were in an agony of hunger and thirst. Marbois, who had formerly been intendant of St. Domingo, and was perfectly acquainted with the productions of that country, talked of nothing but the delicious fruits we were about

to taste, and supported our expiring frames by these sweet illusions; illusions which the land breezes seemed to realize, by wafting even to our blunted senses, the perfumes of lemon trees and pine-apples.

At five o'clock in the afternoon of the 10th October, the *Vaillante* moored in the great road of Cayenne, in sight of the town, which was distant from us about three leagues. From this time we had permission to walk upon deck at all hours, but the captain again renewed his prohibition to the crew, to hold any conversation with us. He immediately communicated our arrival to Jeannet, the agent of the Directory, who discharged the functions of the former office of governor of Cayenne.

In the forenoon of the 11th, a schooner commanded by a trading captain, Desperoux, came to carry us on shore. *La Porte* was much surprised the agent-general had not ordered him to land us himself; and the orders he at the same time received to remain at his moorings, without

coming any nearer the island of Cayenne, and his prohibition to hold any communication with the land, or to suffer any of his crew to quit the ship under pain of death, gave him great uneasiness. He said, he would not deliver us up to any officer but the agent himself ; and we afterwards learnt from Maître Dominique, that suspecting Jeannet to be already too well informed of the recent events, he was on the point of weighing anchor and sailing for Guadaloupe, to consign us to the celebrated Victor Hugues, that tyrant of the Caribbee Islands..

The order, however, was positive, and he was forced to relinquish his prey. He caused us to be escorted by a detachment of his marines, who were to accompany us to the shore, and then take leave of us. As we went on board the vessel that was to convey us thither, we received at once the last frowns of this enraged tiger, and the blessings of Dominique, expressed by the tears that trickled down his cheeks.

The vessel moored at a cannon shot from the

land, whither we went in some shallops that came to meet us. We disembarked with great difficulty on a rocky shore, where the sea, which had a great swell, broke with violence opposite the hospital, which is a very fine edifice built on the edge of the sea at the northermost extremity of the Savannah.

A great crowd of people came out to meet us, among whom were all the magistrates and the chief inhabitants of Cayenne. We could easily perceive by the impression we made on them, that it was not curiosity alone that brought them out. The commandant of the troops, Desvieux, received us with a guard of negroes in very good order, and conducted us to the hospital, behaving to us, at least, with politeness. He permitted the principal inhabitants, who crowded round us, to give us their arms, and we felt that we were again among human beings and among Frenchmen. At the hospital we found the agent of the Directory, Jeannet, with his secretary Mauduit, and as soon as we were called

over, he gave Captain Hurto a receipt for 16 deported persons.

As Jeannet received us in the upper gallery of the hospital, he could not help letting some tears escape him. "Gentlemen," said he, "you must have suffered severely : 'tis easy to perceive it ; I have ordered an apartment to be prepared for you, which, however confined it may appear, is the best I can offer you at present : but it is in the most healthy situation, and that which is the most adapted to your rank. You are under the care of the respectable sisters of the charity, who will not suffer you to want for any thing, and I shall myself see that you are provided with food and refreshments. Rely upon it, that as far as I can act from myself, you shall have reason to be satisfied with your treatment."

He withdrew without giving any orders or instructions that could at all constrain us, and without even desiring us not to go into the town,

So sudden a change in our situation, the compassionate attentions of these worthy sisters, and the fresh provisions and fruits we eat, restored us once more to life, and we doubted not that as soon as we should have recovered our health, we should, as far as the words of the law of the 19th Fructidor would permit, be left entire masters of our persons and of our liberty. We were confirmed in this opinion by the character of the lying reports we had read, and in which the triumphant minority of both Councils endeavoured to conceal from their subjugated colleagues, the injustice and barbarity of a proscription *en masse*, by representing it as a mere banishment. I even heard several of our companions, and especially Laffond, regret that they had not their wives and children with them, that they might voluntarily settle in this colony, since it seemed to enjoy that tranquillity which had been so long banished from the mother country,

But these conciliatory dreams of happiness were, alas ! soon dispelled. The next day the
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commandant, Jeannet, effaced by a total change of conduct, the momentary effect of his transient humanity :—a change, the cruelty and criminality of which was increased by the delusive hopes he had awakened beyond the mere renewal of our torments.

This part of our unfortunate history would be equally unintelligible to the reader, as was the conduct of Jeannet to ourselves, were I not here to relate the causes of this change, which we afterwards learnt from credible witnesses, whose benevolence and courage were unable to meliorate our lot, and whose names it is my duty to conceal as well as the various benefits conferred on us, though both are equally engraved upon my heart.

And here I will first endeavour to describe the person of this strange proconsul. Jeannet is a nephew of Danton, of about 40 years of age. His external appearance is agreeable, his manners polite, and his countenance intelligent and ani-

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mated. He is lame in one arm, but otherwise very well made.

Jeannet belonged to the formidable faction which oppressed the Legislative Body in 1792, overturned the throne, and together with the executive power, destroyed the monarchical constitution. I do not give credit to the accounts of those, whom I have heard accuse Jeannet of being an accomplice with the greatest criminals, merely in order to blacken his past life. I only believe, that he served the faction of his uncle in order that the latter might be able to reward him. He was appointed governor of Cayenne soon after the meeting of the Convention,

The flourishing state of the colony, and the good order he has maintained there, are sufficient proofs of his abilities. His administration has always been firm, and his conduct towards the planters just, though he kept them in a state of dependance; and the inhabitants confess, that through the terror of the negroes, whom he kept in subjection, while at the same time he acquired

their love, they were indebted to him for the preservation of their property.

When Danton was accused by his rival, and together with his party fell beneath the tyranny of Robespierre, Jeannet having refused to proclaim the liberty of the negroes, was obliged to leave the colony and retire to the United States.

On his return to France, after the 9th Thermidor, he was reinstated in his office, shortly after the installation of the Directory. The planters received him with joy, and he justified their confidence by repressing the terrorists. The conventionalists Billaud de Varennes and Collot d'Herbois, who had been deported to Cayenne, were then enjoying their liberty there, and instead of expiating their crimes, meditated new ones, under the auspices of a commandant who was worthy of acting under such leaders. The unexpected return, however, of Jeannet, prevented the conspiracy from bursting forth, which had originated with the negroes, and was directed by Collot

d'Herbois, for the massacre of all the whites. A negro woman who discovered this plot, came and revealed it; upon which Jeannet arrested and sent to the fort of Sinamary, Collot d'Herbois and his colleague Billaud de Varennes, though it is said the latter was not one of the conspirators. He could not however prevent the rebellion of the negroes, nor was it repressed till after a great carnage of them had taken place. Collot d'Herbois having fallen ill soon after, was carried to the hospital of Cayenne where he died. Billaud de Varennes is still at Sinamary.

These circumstances show that Jeannet, who was connected with the party of the 9th Thermidor, was strongly adverse to the anarchists. Hence adopting that line of conduct, which his friends ought to have pursued in France, he connected himself with all the good citizens by that common interest, which arose from supporting the new laws. Thus he protected property, and, notwithstanding the complete execution of the decrees for the liberty of

the negroes, he was able to keep them to their work.

The care which he took to make property respected is not, however, wholly free from interested motives : for he is accused of rapacity ; he raises arbitrary impositions, of which he renders no account ; he indiscriminately seizes all vessels that come into his hands, whether those of allies, of neutral powers, or of enemies ; he confiscates like a corsair, and shares the booty like a robber ; he has appropriated to himself, as national domains, the possession of the finest estates that have been confiscated or sequestered. He pays particular attention to the cultivation of the estate of General la Fayette, called *la Gabrielle*, which is said to have brought him in 300,000 livres ; and the plantation of the Jesuits, the Royal plantation, and that of Beauregard, swell the revenue of this satrap.

Having obtained these advantages, and possessing these qualifications, when Jeannet saw the republican government acquire solidity, he

was far from believing a new system of terror would take place. The news of the events of the 18th Fructidor, which he had learnt before our arrival by an American ship on which he laid an embargo, and the names of the principal actors, Augereau, Sotin, &c. alarmed him so much that he was a second time on the point of quitting the colony. The term of his appointment being expired, he doubted not but some friend of Billaud de Varennes would arrive to succeed him, and he imagined he saw the manes of the execrable Collot rise before him : but the inhabitants urged him to stay and wait for further information.

The account which Lieutenant Dubourg must have given at the time of our arrival, the picture of the evils we had suffered, which, no doubt, his humanity induced him to represent to Jeannet, apparently confirmed his first impressions, and procured us the good reception we met with at the hospital.

Captain la Porte, however, enraged at the insulting precautions of the agent of the govern-

ment, which were more galling to him, as he knew he enjoyed the confidence of the Directory, did not give up the contest, but wrote to Jeannet, insisting on seeing him, in order personally to deliver the letters and instructions of which he was the bearer. Jeannet, deceived by the revolutionists, by whom he was surrounded, as, for instance, his secretary, Mauduit, and the port-captain, Malvin, could not refuse this request. He therefore permitted Captain la Porte to come on shore, and invited him to dinner.

We saw him arrive, about four o'clock in the afternoon, in his long-boat, and shuddered at the sight.

As it was in consequence of this dinner party that our ruin was determined, the account we heard of it deserves some attention.

While Jeannet read his dispatches, la Porte added to the text the most perfidious comments; in which he was supported by other counsellors still more perfidious than himself. " These

“villains,” said he, “whom I have brought hither, “had already lighted up a civil war in France, “where they massacred the republicans with impunity.” We were all sold, he said, to the Princes; we were all for proclaiming a King; we were still in hopes of reviving the party. We had contrived means of carrying on intelligence at Cayenne; we had still those of effecting a revolution in favour of Louis XVIII, and the Directory had information of the fact.

These calumnies silenced the worthy magistrates who were present, and emboldened the revolutionists who did not wait till the agent-general had expressed his sentiments, to break out against us.

Jeannet, however, still kept, as it were, on the defensive, and seemed to capitulate with his conscience. He perused the list of the deported, and, fixing his eye on the conventionalists, against whom, perhaps, he felt an old party rancour, said: “I see but a small number of culprits. “The more I read and reflect on my dispatches,
“ the

“ the less am I able to understand them.” He twice interrupted the declamations of la Porte, to speak of the dreadful state in which we were. “ Is it not true, captain,” said he, “ that these gentlemen have suffered severely ?”—“ Yes,” replied la Porte, insolently, “ yes, they have suffered ; and had I executed my orders, I should not have brought one of them alive.”

The next day (the 18th November), we were forbid to go out of our rooms, and were closely watched. No pretext whatever, no wants we experienced, could for a moment save us from this importunate vigilance. From that time, the inhabitants were forbid to hold any communication with us. Some of them, however, braved the danger of violating these rigorous orders, and others conveyed us some refreshments.

A Mulatto woman, of about forty years of age, named Marie Rose, who was very rich, and much respected by all the colony, on account of her piety and humanity, which she was ever actively exerting, particularly distinguished herself by

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her assiduity in sending and even bringing every thing she knew we wanted, or which she imagined would be agreeable to us. She was so often with the good sisters of the charity, that the prohibition of communicating with us could not reach her. The hospital, indeed, was, as it were, the favourite habitation of Marie Rose, and her visits there were more frequent in proportion as our condition became more miserable. This lively concern, which she took in our fate, never abated. It was to Pichegru she always delivered her little presents; and the General never failed to divide them with his companions in misfortune, who participated in the gratitude due to this excellent woman.

Marbois, Tronçon du Coudray, and Murinais, asked for permission to walk out; in consequence of which we were allowed that liberty for an hour, morning and evening, attended by a guard, on the Savannah, as far as the walls of the town. Desvieux himself superintended this duty. This man had used abusive language to Marie Rose, and would have shot two serjeants of the regi-

ment of Alsace, because Marbois having addressed them in German, they had entered into conversation with him: nor would the lives of these two poor fellows have been saved, without the sollicitations of a great number of the inhabitants. Desvieux made Jeannet himself tremble, and considered the concern, which the sisters of the charity took in our fate, during the short space of time we were among them, as an unpardonable crime. "Your deported men," said he, with emphasis, to the governess, "are *lost*; "they are lost, I say; and if they do not go off "soon of themselves, we shall find means to dis- "patch them." This Desvieux is an old captain of cavalry, who was formerly aide-de-camp to M. de Boufflers, and is said to belong to an old family, whose profession was that of the bar.

Thus passed the few first days that followed our landing; and, notwithstanding these new rigours, we still entertained hopes that the law would be executed, and that we should be left at peace within the limits of our banishment. But our fate was not yet decided. The inhabitants asked

for permission to receive us at their houses ; but Jeannet answered, that he could not separate us, nor incur the risk of disturbing the tranquillity of the colony. At first, it is said, he determined to place us at the old plantation of the Jesuits.

At this the terrorists made an outcry, and demanded the same favour for Billaud de Varennes, and reproached Jeannet with keeping him in prison notwithstanding the orders of the Directory, which declared that he should be at liberty to go at large throughout the territory of the colony.

This weak and cowardly proconsul yielded to their remonstrances, and, with the same hand which we had seen, a few days before, wiping away the tears of compassion, signed the barbarous order for our second deportation.

In the morning of the 18th November, we received notice to be in readiness to go to the canton of Sinamary.

Our members of the Council of Elders proposed to protest against this extension of a law which was in itself a violation of all laws: but those of the Council of Five Hundred thought this would be in some measure to acknowledge the legality of the act of proscription, and that of the agents employed in its execution. They preferred yielding a passive obedience, and I was myself of this opinion. To this Jeannet only answered in the negative, by the intervention of a commissary of the navy. He never replied directly to any of the deported, and he forbade the furnishing us with copies of the letters and orders he ordered to be communicated to us.

Those of our number who were most indisposed, and seemed unable to bear the fatigues of deportation, remonstrated in vain, and the old General Murinais, not being able to obtain permission to remain at the hospital, was quite in despair. He therefore determined to write separately to Jeannet. "Order an account to be given you," said he, "of the state I am in. Your order is to me a death warrant." But Jeannet

was deaf to the prayers of all the inhabitants, and insensible to the tears of the good sisters of the hospital. In short, we were compelled to go.

We now took leave of the worthy Captain Hurto, who had also pleaded our cause to the utmost of his power, and of Maître Dominique, who passed two days with us, during which he gave us new proofs of his generous attachment.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 22d November we were embarked on board the schooner the Victory, some shallops taking us on board at the same spot where we had landed when we quitted the Vaillante. It was determined to avoid taking us through the town, but all the inhabitants ran in crowds to the banks, and gave us the most affecting proofs of their sensibility. The women and children were in tears, and it is impossible to describe this heart-rending scene. We had no friends, and were surrounded by these worthy inhabitants, being only attended by the commandant Desvieux, who, in the presence

of this oppressed people, feigned an extreme politeness towards us. Jeannet did not appear.

When the schooner weighed anchor, our regret at being thus torn away from these soothing consolations, the sight of the crowd upon the shore extending their hands towards us, or raising them towards Heaven, their cries, and their parting adieus, almost broke our hearts.

The worthy Captain Bracket, who commanded the schooner, did his utmost to alleviate the pain of this separation, and lavished on us every attention and the refreshments he had provided. He appeared so anxious to serve us, that I doubt not, had we proposed to him to rescue us, he would have done it; for we had no other guard than three men and a captain, and the ship was only navigated by four sailors and a boatswain, who, in all probability, would not have opposed him. We were sixteen in number, and the cabin, in which we were, was full of arms, that lay spread about. This idea did not then strike any of us, and we were all resigned to our fate. We had

also been flattered with an assurance that if the canton of Sinamary was not the most populous, it was at least the most healthy, and one of the most fertile parts of the colony. We were taught to expect we should there find an abundance of provisions, and that we should at length enjoy our liberty.

The river of Sinamary is 30 leagues to the eastward of the island of Cayenne, and the winds and the currents were both in our favour. We had weighed anchor at noon, and we moored about eight o'clock in the evening at the mouth of the river, after having doubled *les Isles au Diable*. Captain Bracket would have moored nearer the shore, in order that we might land before night; but, as the posts were not apprized of our voyage, the battery on the east point fired at us with ball, and therefore we were obliged to stay all night on board.

At day-break, on the 23rd November, we landed under the redoubt of the point. The commandant of the canton, M. de ***, captain of the
regiment

regiment of Alsace, was on the beach to receive us. "Here," said the commandant of our escort, "are the persons condemned to deportation; and here is the provisory order of the agent-general respecting them."—"The condemned!" replied the officer, "these gentlemen have not been tried. 'Tis infamous to send them hither." This speech, and the honest emphasis with which he uttered it, caused this officer to be shortly after cashiered and expelled from the colony. I hope, however, this unjust action may have saved his life; for he is a young man, and his health was already impaired by the climate.

About an hundred paces from the sea-side, leaving the redoubt and the signal mast to the right, we came in front of Mr. Kormann's house, which is a crazy insulated hut, where it could scarcely be conceived any man would voluntarily reside: this was the only habitation we could perceive in this vast desert, and was situated on the banks of the Sinamary, which are covered with wood, and obstructed with branches of trees

and shrubs rotting in the mud, and infecting the air with noxious exhalations.

As we stopped before this hut to ask for fresh water, M. Kormann, who was a man of about thirty years of age, but apparently more broken than Europeans generally are at sixty, came to salute us, and said, with a feeble voice, "Ah, gentlemen, you are come into a tomb!"—"We know it," replied General Murinais, "and the sooner the better." Such were the omens that attended our arrival on the continent of South America!

We walked on a burning soil, and pursued a narrow path on the bank of the river, a league up the country. I had great difficulty in dragging myself along after my companions, who were all overpowered with fatigue. None of us had yet recovered the fatigues of our voyage sufficiently to bear those of this long journey, and I had spit blood during several days.

At length we arrived before the fort of Sina-

mary, which did not become visible till we were within musket shot of it.

This fort is built of planks, and pallisadoed; but has no outworks. It is a square building, each side being about 100 toises (200 yards), is flanked by four bastions, and surrounded by a large fosse, filled with water from the river; so that the fort was completely insulated.

As we entered it, we too clearly perceived that no hope remained of enjoying, even in these deserts, the least shadow of liberty. That loss was here consummated.

It now remains for me to pourtray the refinement of cruelty with which, even in this prison, our persecutors harrassed the miserable remnant of our existence; the insatiable rage of our executioners; the patience and constancy of their victims; the agonies of those of our companions who died in our arms; of those who are still struggling with a less rapid, though not a

less inevitable fate : and, lastly, to relate the miracle of our escape,

However small was the theatre on which these horrid scenes passed, I must begin by describing it,

The barracks for the garrison, the apartments of the commandant, and a few huts for the settlers, occupy the curtain to the right which looks to the river. The garrison consisted of eighty men, half whites, half blacks ; being a detachment of the old regiment of Alsace, which had been almost entirely renewed since its arrival in Guyana.

The curtain on the opposite side is the old chapel, which the white revolutionists devastated but which the negroes still respect,

By this chapel is a corridor, under which are built eight miserable rooms, formerly used as prisons for fugitive negroes and criminals,

Opposite the entrance of the fort is the apartment of the keeper of the stores. The platforms of the bastions are occupied by magazines of provisions and of ammunition; and one of the four (that looking to the northward, and near the river) is the guard-house. The remaining space, in the middle of the fort, is planted with orange trees. The fort is provided with arms, and well kept up. •

At first, the commandant conducted us to the corridor, and, shewing us the rooms, said to us: "There are the lodgings appointed for you." Billaud de Varennes occupied one of these rooms; the other seven were to be divided between the sixteen deported persons, and, according to this unequal proportion, to receive a larger or a smaller number,

The commandant, addressing himself to M. de Murinais, as the eldest of us, pointed to one of the rooms which was to contain only one prisoner, and said; "This room will do for you."—"Lead me," replied the old general, "to that

“ which is nearest to the cemetery ; for that will
“ suit me best.”

After having obliged our worthy general to go into this first room alone, the others were divided between the remaining fifteen. Fortune separated us as follows :

2nd—Aubry, alone.

3rd—Pichegru and Marbois.

4th—Willot, la Rue, and Dossonville.

5th—Bourdon and Rovère.

6th—Laffond, Tronçon du Coudray, and Barthélemy.

7th—Brothier, la Vilhurnois, le Tellier, and Ramel.

The commandant ordered a hammock for each of us ; for these dungeons contained neither bed, table, nor chair, nor any one piece of furniture or utensil.

Our only food was an allowance of biscuit, a pound of salt meat, and a glass of rum, to cor-

rect the extreme bad quality of the water. Sometimes we had bread that we could not eat, because it was full of worms and ants, and some portions of wine that had grown sour in the magazines.

As we could not eat altogether, nor in one of the rooms, nor out of one bowl, we divided into messes. It was not, however, by chance that these parties were determined, but the coincidence of our ages and opinions.

1st mess—Marbois, Tronçon du Coudray, Barthélemy, Laffond, Murinais, le Tellier.

2nd mess—Pichegru, Willot, la Rue, Aubry, and Dossonville, Ramel.

3rd mess—Bourdon, Rovère.

4th mess—Brothier, la Vilheurnois.

This arrangement, however, was soon disturbed by the most melancholy events : Marbois was desirous of having his mess separate ; Barthélemy and le Tellier joined in the mess to which I belonged ; and the Abbé Brothier joined with Billaud de Varennes.

These associations having had some influence on our happiness, I could not avoid taking notice of their formation.

One negro alone prepared the soup for all four messes. Every one attended to it, and fetched away his share. This execrable cook had been sent from Cayenne, where he had been taken on purpose from the house of correction. He threatened twenty times to poison us.

Those of us who were sick were attended by two old negro women ; a third, whose husband was in the fort, and whom the worthy Marie Rose had sent as a person in whose goodness she could rely, waited on General Pichegru. I have read with the utmost indignation the calumnies that have been spread abroad, to deprive us of the concern which humanity naturally feels for misfortune, and the respect due to innocence, when it has not fallen from its dignity. Let our persecutors, at least, leave us the enjoyment of this consolation !

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In the fort we were prisoners ; I never quitted it but once, and that, as I hope, never to re-enter it. We were called out twice every day, first at nine in the morning, and again at four in the afternoon,

Our first occupation was to clean out our rooms, which were full of venomous insects, that rendered them uninhabitable, although we had no other shelter. No European, perhaps, had ever before been thrown into such a den, in such a climate, there to be given as a prey to scorpions, millepedes, gnats, mosquitos, and many other species of insects, equally numerous, dangerous, and disgusting ! We were not even secure from the serpents that frequently crept into the fort. Pichegru found one of uncommon size, which he killed ; it was thicker than his arm, and lay concealed in the folds of his cloak, which served him for a pillow to his hammock.

The insect that tormented us most severely was the chica, or niguas, a species of bug, which enters the pores of the skin, and, if it is not care-

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fully removed, breeds there, and destroys the flesh so rapidly, as to render amputation necessary. We were covered with pimples and pustules, which deprived us of sleep, overwhelmed us with fatigue, and plunged us in the deepest dejection. Some of us had received, during our journey from the Temple to Rochefort, clothes, linen and money ; but others, and myself among the number, were totally destitute ; our precipitate embarkation having disappointed the vigilance of our families. Jeannet sent us some shirts and handkerchiefs, taken from the magazines from which the negroes are supplied.

Such was our situation at Sinamary ! In the fort there were no other inhabitants than the garrison and a store-keeper named Moigestein, a very good kind of man, who would have served us had it been in his power. The black soldiers of the garrison seemed more civil, or, rather, were less harsh towards us than the whites, who were a remnant of the regiment of Alsace, that preserved their old discipline, but who were kept in a state of servile fear. The surgeon of the

canton of Sinamary, whose name is Cabrol, is a man full of humanity, but very infirm, and could rarely come out to visit the sick. We sometimes saw the mayor of the canton, Vogel, formerly a gentleman of Lorraine, who made us ineffectual offers of service.

These were the extent of our communications with mankind : for I take no account of Billaud de Varennes, with whom our jailors endeavoured to assimilate us. This consideration, indeed, only made us regard him with the more disgust. It is true, we avoided humiliating him or aggravating his misfortunes ; but the Abbé Brothier alone was able to overcome the horror of this monstrous association, and formed an acquaintance with Billaud de Varennes.

I shall not attempt to speak of the country round the fort, and which is properly called the canton of Sinamary. I have often heard of several considerable Indian villages, which are said to be situated some leagues inland, and the inhabitants of which sometimes come to sell fruits and

vegetables. The plantations, that are situated higher up the river, and would together form a kind of hamlet, are said to be in a fertile tract; yet the unwholesomeness of the climate has reduced the Frenchmen, who established themselves there in the last century, to a very small number. This is all I know on the subject; and all I saw from the ramparts of our prison was a vast, and apparently impenetrable forest. The mournful howlings of tigers that came within musket shot of the fort, the shrill and piercing screams of monkeys, the discordant notes of parrots, and the croaking of venomous toads, of which the fosses and the muddy banks of the river were full, rendered this scene a wilderness of horror.

The fifth day after our arrival, Lieutenant Aimé relieved M. de ***, and took the command of the fort: a change which proved a great misfortune to our party.

At the beginning of the revolution this Aimé was a lackey in a family at Nancy, where he be-

came one of the principal ringleaders of the disturbances that desolated that city, and of the revolt of the King's regiment and that of Châteaueux, which the national guards repressed. He then enlisted in the regiment of Alsace, in which he rose to the rank of an officer. Jeannet could not have selected a more barbarous jailor.

Aimé immediately gave new orders, and daily invented additional restraints. He prohibited the soldiers from speaking to us under pain of death, and ordered the alarm to be beat every morning before our dungeons: nor could we ever obtain the reversion of this cruel order, which was a dreadful torment to the sick among us. It seemed as if he regretted that sleep should sometimes procure us a momentary suspension of our misfortunes. The drummer, or rather, the vulture, he selected for this purpose, added insult to injury. He hollowed aloud and burst into a laugh, whenever we asked him to take pity on the anguish of our sick friends. The most temperate among us were frequently obliged to restrain the most violent, who were for throwing

this wretch into the fosse. Our musters also were performed with the greatest rigour, and, if any of us had not been found in his room, he would have been put in irons.

A few days after the arrival of the new commandant, M. de Murinais was taken ill. This was in the beginning of December, and I believe, on the second or third day of the month. He became insensible almost at the very moment when he was attacked ; we were unable to afford him any relief, and before the express, which was sent to Cayenne to inform Jeannet of his situation, arrived there, our unfortunate friend was no more. Till the last moment of his life this worthy veteran gave us an example of fortitude and resignation. A total stranger to the intrigues in which it was pretended he was implicated, in order to have a more illustrious or a purer victim to immolate, he never complained of his fate, of his separation from a numerous family, or of the loss of his large fortune : he only felt indignant that his word, or the fidelity with which he was resolved to discharge the duty

confided to him should be doubted. What a dreadful scene was this first separation ! I was myself almost in a dying state, and it was already the opinion of my fellow prisoners, that the youngest of us would follow the oldest. I collected all my strength, however, and crawled to the general's room, where I found him suspended in his hammock. At this time, no one was near him. He lay extended with his mouth open and parched, and I endeavoured to give him drink ; but he was struggling with death and expired a few moments after. What a forlorn and deserted situation for a father of a family in the last moments of his life !

M. de Murinais was buried without the fort. We made some pious preparations for his funeral, and, I must confess, I derived new strength from the exertions to which this miserable scene gave birth.

The effects of M. de Murinais were put under seal, and publicly sold in the fort. On this occasion, the justice of the peace having read the

title of *Citizen* in the preamble, which he read in the presence of the commandant—"erase that title," said Aimé; "those rascals do not deserve it."

Within a week after the death of M. de Muri-nais, Barthélemy was taken ill, and apparently in an equally serious manner. Fortunately, however, there was time to send to Cayenne, to inform Jeannet, who sent a schooner to convey him to the hospital. We took a final leave of him, for we did not expect ever to see him more. His faithful le Tellier obtained permission to accompany him.

Notwithstanding the certainty that we were now buried alive, notwithstanding the fatal pre-sages that surrounded us, each of us fortified his mind with resolution and nerved himself against the hard law of necessity. Political discussions and individual conversations filled up much of our time, and our common misfortunes were inexhaustible sources of reflection and communication.

cation. God forbid I should here relate all the disputes of which I was witness! When men, whose opinions, professions, talents and interests, were as different as their ages and their passions, are thus reduced to the tedious monotony of unvarying misery, their relative situation produces a constantly changing picture, which, however interesting and instructive, I shall not here attempt to pourtray. Notwithstanding the confusion which the leaders of the revolution of the 18th Fructidor were induced to excite, in order to create motives and pretexts of vengeance, the various parts certain members took in the events which preceded that catastrophe are well known; and not even in the passive inactivity of common adversity can those minds harmonize, whose judgments and views have been so discordant when in action. I shall therefore confine myself to saying, that each of us contrived occupations for himself, or sought for amusements according to his own various habits and inclinations.

Marbois, the serenity of whose mind seemed to proportion itself without exertion to the mul-

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tiplicity of our misfortunes, exhibited so much calmness and equanimity, that those who were not well acquainted with him, those who had not heard him pronounce the words *dear Sophia* to his wife, might have imagined he was destitute of sensibility. He knew how to employ the unwelcome leisure of imprisonment, and vary his pursuits, better than any of us; and having caused books to be purchased for him he read a great deal. He also worked with his hands, and that always for some useful or agreeable purpose for our unfortunate community; he formed, and that with great neatness, the furniture and utensils he most needed, and even contrived to make a violin, with which he set the negroes, who were very fond of him, to dance. One of them, who had been at St. Domingo during his administration, had talked much of him to his comrades, and they all highly respected him. Marbois also undertook to clear the orange tree walks, which were very much encumbered with obstructions. In this work he induced the negroes to assist, and thus rendered the only walk we had agreeable.

Tronçon du Coudray, with equal fortitude to that of his friend, supported, like the rest of us, our present evils without complaint, and contemplated the vile instruments of our misfortunes with contempt. But he could neither preserve the calmness of his mind, nor be master of himself, nor keep silence relative to the events of the 18th Fructidor. That audacious tissue of crimes, and the impunity that attended them, still irritated his temper as much as the first day of his fall ; and he was still more enraged at the injustice which the Directory had exercised with such unparalleled effrontery, even taking things on their own grounds. He demanded his accusation, and asked for judges even of the echoes of Sinaï. He wrote memorials, and applied with so much assiduity, that he did not take any relaxation, and his health was impaired by his constant study. He wrote a funeral eulogium on his colleague, General Murinais, and assembled us to hear him pronounce it. This he did with the same solemnity and graceful eloquence that he displayed at the tribune of the Council of Elders, and all the soldiers of the garrison, all the negroes came

to hear him. He took for his text : *Super flumina Babylonis, illic cedimus et flevimus, donec recordamur Sion.*—"By the rivers of Babylon, there we " sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered " Sion." His affecting eloquence, his full and harmonious voice, the animated picture he drew of the miseries of our native country, the brilliant glory with which he emblazoned the courage, the loyalty, the innocence, and the virtue, of the deceased veteran, called forth tears from all our eyes, and the soldiers and negroes, who soon began to be affected, were, at length, so powerfully agitated that the fort re-echoed with their lamentations. In consequence of this incident, Jeannet caused notice to be given, that whosoever should endeavour by his discourse to excite the pity of the soldiers or the negroes for the fate of the deported, should be instantly shot.

Laffond bore the marks of the deepest dejection, and his mind was constantly occupied with the confusion into which his arrestation must have thrown his own commercial house, and

those of his friends and correspondents, especially since he had lost all means of corresponding with them, whereby he might possibly have formed at Cayenne, with the credit he could have procured there, new plans and undertakings, equally advantageous to his unfortunate country and to himself. He lived very retired, and talked of nothing but his family, his six children, and his wife, whose portrait he was continually contemplating.

Pichegru still retained his accustomed firmness, and shewed that confidence, that presentiment, as it were, of future amelioration, which naturally communicates itself to others, and in which I loved to participate. His principal occupation was learning English; and he preserved, amidst all his amusements and pursuits, his military tone and manners, by which he endeavoured to overcome the tedious monotony of imprisonment. He was often singing, and we sang together, especially such fragments as were applicable to our situation; not plaintive or romantic effusions, but such as abounded in the

energy of vehement expression, or awakened military ardour.

Barthélemy; though so sickly, and so ailing, that even his existence was a miracle, in the continuance of which he had himself believed as little as his proscribers, possessed an internal principle of life, and a strength of mind, which the calmness of his external appearance would scarcely have given room to suspect; but which showed itself with energy on every occasion. In the early part of our imprisonment in the fort, and previous to his being removed to the hospital at Cayenne, he undertook, together with le Tellier, the employment most useful to our miserable colony; that of continually destroying the scorpions, and the various insects that harrassed and devoured us.

I would willingly thus record some traits of each of my fellow prisoners; but, to avoid deviating with unnecessary minuteness into a train of circumstances, which already vanish from my memory, I shall limit myself to portraying the

principal individuals of this picture of misery ; particularly our warriors and old men : contenting myself with introducing, in the back ground, all their companions in misfortune, who, like myself, have less claim to attract individual attention,

But I cannot pass over in silence the infamous conduct and language of Brothier, whose intimacy with Billaud de Varennes I have already mentioned. I must separate from the picture him whom our contempt separated from our company. I shall pourtray that miscreant priest with one stroke of my pen, or rather with that of his colleague, la Vilheurnois, who, after a violent dispute with him, during which the grossest abuse had not been spared, struck and beat the Abbé. Hearing a disturbance, we ran to the room in which they were. " Leave it to me, gentlemen," said Vilheurnois, " to punish this contemptible fellow, for he stands much in need of correction. If you knew him well, you would thank me, for he is a friend of discord, and the Abbé Maury only spoke the truth,

“ when he wrote to the Princes—*That if they*
“ wanted to throw every thing into confusion, they
“ could not do better than employ the Abbé Bro-
“ thier; for he would introduce discord among
“ the Angels of Heaven.”

In the beginning of January, Willot and Bourdon were taken ill, and we applied, in vain, to procure them the same favour that Barthélemy had already obtained, and which, I doubt not, saved his life; for it was impossible he should meet with more salutary attentions, or more soothing consolations, than by being in the hands of the worthy sisters of that charity, and their kind-hearted friend Marie Rose. Jeanniet, however, would never consent to Willot and Bourdon being removed to Cayenne, for he knew that at Sinamary death was inevitable. The unfortunate Bourdon died, some time after, of a violent fever, which the heat of his blood, and his continual rage against his old colleagues, constantly increased. Willot was at the last extremity; and we endeavoured to compensate, by unremitting attention, for the total want of every other relief.

Nor

Nor can I forget the zeal and affectionate assiduity with which Marbois, who, in a violent political dispute, had reason to complain of Willot, waited on him during his illness, prepared his victuals, and deprived himself of his best food during his fellow-prisoner's convalescence.

Towards the end of January, Barthélemy contrived to inform us, that an American vessel had arrived with the most afflicting news from France. The usurpation of the Republic was completed; all good citizens oppressed; the revolutionary laws rigorously enforced; and the tribunals of blood re-established, under the name of military commissions. This news made us deplore the fate of our wretched country, and despair of any speedy change in our own.

It appears that the agent-general, Jeannet, doubted, till this intelligence arrived, whether the Directory could maintain the act of violence of the 18th Fructidor; and whether, after having subverted the constitution, it was possible for them again to tyrannize over France by

means of terror : but these recent accounts removed all his doubts, and his present policy was but too well explained by his conduct towards us.

He sent back Barthélemy, though still far from well, to the fort of Sinamary.

Towards the end of February, he published a proclamation to the negroes, denouncing the deported persons at Sinamary as Royalists, who, previous to the 18th Fructidor, were leading them back to slavery. He seemed to consign us to their poignards.

He prohibited the inhabitants, under the severest penalties, from holding any communication with us ; and Mr. Grimond, attorney-general for the department, having previous to this order paid a visit to Laffond, was, shortly after, turned out of his place. Not contented with these open persecutions, Jeannet traced out and intercepted the correspondence of some of the deported. For this purpose he had announced the departure

of a packet for Europe, and had apprized all the inhabitants that they might take this opportunity of writing to Europe, which some of us having learnt, ventured to convey letters to Cayenne. But the vessel had no sooner set sail, than Jeannet caused it to be fired on with ball, brought her back, and got possession of all the correspondence.

“ The deported,” said this inquisitor, “ complain of my severity ; but if they knew the orders I have received, they would applaud my clemency.”

Yet, notwithstanding his assiduity to serve the Directory, and notwithstanding his efforts to acquire their good will, Jeannet felt seriously alarmed. He conceived the anarchists, being restored to favour, would become masters of the government, which was already under their influence ; and that the friends of Robespierre were but a step from absolute authority. In this opinion, the news brought by the Aigle packet so strongly confirmed him, and excited

his fears so much, that he caused an offer to be made to Billaud de Varennes of his liberty: but the latter refused this favour, and added, that Jeannet might act as he pleased, but he should never forget the treatment he had received, and of which he would one day make him repent.

About the same time, the commandant Desvieux, in his circuit to the different posts, paid a visit to the fort of Sinamary, where he examined our rooms. He first entered that of Marbois. "Good day, *Marbois*," said the commandant; "how do you find yourself here?"—"Very well, Sir," replied Marbois.—"Sir," do "you say," returned Desvieux, "I had rather you "had given me a blow than that abusive title. Do "you want any thing?"—"No, Sir,"—"Have "you any complaint to make?"—"We do not "complain."—"Good bye then."—"Good bye, "*Monsieur Desvieux*." Here ended this short dialogue; after which the commandant visited the other rooms, where he found us all immoveable,

with a book in our hands, and without seeming to perceive his presence.

After the return of Barthélemy, everything around us assumed an appearance more and more menacing. Our communications became more difficult, and we knew that Jeannet had said—"If they are not carried off by the English, they are done for; they have nothing to expect from France." Lieutenant Aimé had in one of his visits, brought me, to use his own expression, the good news that, in the district of Conamana, rooms were building for three thousand deported persons. In the month of April, about the period of the new elections, we saw fifteen hundred negroes and thirty or forty whites assembled, who, having received a distribution of rum, voted, by the order of the Directory, for the appointment of Monge (who was then a commissary for the spoliation of Italy), as the representative of the people of Cayenne.

It was at this time, that eight of us, who eat together, determined, not I say on the project,

but the firm resolution of running all risks to rescue ourselves by flight from our tyrants, and to rob them, at least, of the pleasure of seeing us die by inches beneath their iron rod.

Barthélemy and his friend le Tellier, who determined to unite their fate with ours, were the last whom we admitted into the number of the *conspirators*; an expression which I adopt, because it has been employed by the revolutionists: for, in the eyes of those barbarians, the victims, who but turn away their heads from the blow that is striking them, are guilty of a crime against the state, and every man is a conspirator who dares to defend his liberty!

We communicated our design to Marbois, Laffond, and Tronçon du Coudray, who refused to join us; for they never departed from their original sentiments, relying on their innocence, as if that had not been the primary cause of their proscription. They thought it their duty to their country, to their families, and to themselves, to wait in the deserts of Sinamary till the nation

should call out for justice. " Yes," said Marbois, " let them do us justice, severe justice ; let them bring us before any tribunal whatsoever ; let them try us, and if we are to be sacrificed, at least let our defence be heard by our constituents."

More irritated by the injustice I suffered, and more impatient to burst my chains, I preferred incurring dangers which, perhaps in reality, were of less magnitude, although more striking in appearance. Yet I could not help admiring the constancy, and respecting the blindness of those we left behind.

Various motives induced us to confine our confidence to these individuals. No other of the deported were admitted, and the secret was perfectly well kept.

The plan of our escape frequently varied, according to the means each of us alternately suggested. Hope sustained us to the moment of execution, and no other object occupied our

thoughts. The idea that most naturally suggested itself, was to take refuge among the Indians, and afterwards to endeavour to penetrate across the continent to the Portuguese settlements. But we had no guides, nor could we expect to find any who were acquainted with the language and customs of these nations, or who would run the risk of conducting us thither. We knew, that the nation of the Galibis, the nearest to the French settlements in these parts, had conceived a great aversion for our nation, and that since they had heard of the assassination of the King, committed with impunity in the heart of France, their chiefs had broken off all communication. In short, we only possessed very vague information concerning them, and saw nothing before us but insurmountable difficulties. This scheme therefore was rejected.

Before I describe, however, the plan which we ultimately adopted, I must give an account of what was passing around us during our consultations and preparations for putting it in force, thus completing the history of our greatest miseries,

ries, and our strongest motives for flying from this land of desolation ; after which I shall have no further occasion to interrupt the narrative of our deliverance.

Lieutenant Aimé being taken ill, was removed to Cayenne, and relieved by M. Freta, an officer of much firmness, but a very good kind of man. This gentlemen caused the impertinencies of the negroes to be put a stop to, excused us from the disturbance of the alarm drum, and did his utmost to alleviate the rigours of our imprisonment.

Tronçon du Coudray was at that time very ill, and requiring attendance, asked for a negro to wait on him. Jeannet sent him one named Louis, a very bad man, whom he took from the galleys. We well knew that no one would be sent us but such as our persecutors could rely on. This man, however, was intolerably impertinent, and insulted and tormented du Coudray, who complained to the commandant Freta ; upon which the negro was arrested and sent back to Cayenne. This conduct irritated Jeannet, who immediately

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recalled Freta, substituted Aimé in his place, and ordered the negro to be again sent to the fort, Louis therefore returned more insolent than ever, and waited on the unfortunate du Coudray, notwithstanding his unwillingness to be attended by him.

We were by no means sorry that M. Freta left the fort; for it would have given us great pain to have involved him in the blame of our flight.

The commandant Aimé marked his return with new cruelties. I have already spoken of the intimacy between the Abbé Brothier and Billaud de Varennes. The conduct of that priest daily added to our indignation. He talked but of vengeance, of blood, and of the new system of terror, which, according to him, would produce a counter-revolution; and, if any observations were made, in answer to his outcry for vengeance, he replied, in the language of the celebrated revolutionary doctor—"What care I how many men perish, if but the species remain." He invented the most horrid calumnies, and vomited forth abuse

against all the world. We strongly expressed our displeasure at his conduct, and the commandant Aimé, to put an end, as he said, to our quarrels, ordered us to be put in irons. When he came to visit us, perceiving that Barthélemy suffered extremely, he said to him, that he saw he had not strength enough to support this punishment; would order his irons to be taken off; and only put him under arrestation in his room. "Let me alone," replied Barthélemy coolly; "I still possess more strength and patience than thou dost of courage. Leave me to suffer in peace with my companions."

The Abbé Brothier very charitably asked for our pardon, which was refused. Fortunately Jeannet was much offended at this arbitrary act of the commandant Aimé, of which he was no sooner informed, than he sent the mayor of the canton, Vagel, who happened to be at Cayenne, with an order to liberate us from this severity.

In the beginning of May, Tronçon du Cou-dray and Laffond, who eat together, were taken

ill almost at the same time. Some hours after they began to vomit violently, and the most alarming symptoms broke out in both of them. They suffered the severest pains, without a moment of intermission. Jeannet was immediately written to, and that favour solicited which was never refused to the lowest criminal. He refused, however, to remove our unfortunate friends to the hospital. At first we received no answer; but the danger increasing, and, as we were destitute of every kind of relief, all our cares and attentions were unable to alleviate the anguish of our unfortunate companions. We persisted therefore in our application, and Tronçon du Coudray, though already swelled and unable to turn, wrote to Jeannet on this occasion: but that monster answered in writing, to the commandant Aimé, " I know not why those gentlemen are continually importuning me; they ought to know, they have not been sent to Sinamary to live there to all eternity."

These two victims, whom we had already given up, lay in the same room, in their ham-

mocks, which were their death-beds, opposite to each other. The cries their tortures forced from them re-echoed to our rooms, and far beyond them; nothing could appease their fatal vomitings. Laffond cried out with vehemence; he raised his hands towards Heaven, and called aloud upon his wife and children.

Their torments continued twenty-five or thirty days. My heart contracts whenever I reflect on this horrid scene. We crowded round our wretched companions, and Marbois did not quit his friend du Coudray for a single moment. I shall never forget the assiduity and fortitude with which he overcame every disgust, and the despair which appeared in his eyes at the very time when he was supporting his dying friend.

Tronçon du Coudray struggled against the approach of death with all the energy natural to his character. The evening before he expired, he crawled about, leaning upon a negro, and came into my room. I seem still to behold this spectre. He sat down for a moment on my hammock, and

said: "I do not flatter myself I can live; but, should you put your scheme in practice, take me with you; for I would willingly breathe my last beyond the walls of this horrid prison. My dear Ramel, take me with you, if possible." After this he talked of his two friends Dumas and Portalis, rejoicing that they had escaped our miserable fate, and requesting me, should I see them again, to tell them they would employ his last thoughts, and that he recommended his children and his memory to their care.

This was his last effort of strength. He died the next day, which was the 27th of May. Some hours before he expired, he assembled round him Barthélemy, le Tellier, Pichégrou, Marbois, Willot, Aubry, Dossonville, and myself.

These were some of his last words: "Fly, my friends, fly from Sinamary. May Heaven favour your escape. As for me, I shall presently be no more; but, should you ever see my friends, tell them my last sigh was for them, and for my country. But oh! forget not my children. Should for-

"tune ever smile on you again, oh ! do not disturb
 "the peace of our native country, but rather brave
 "all the sufferings of misery." Then, raising his
 head, and pointing to Brothier's room, "he
 "talks," said he, "but of civil war; it is his
 "wish. Ah ! my friends, promise me you will
 "prevent it, if it be in your power." In these
 last moments he still suffered cruel torments, and
 had a burning thirst; but all his faculties re-
 mained entire. He divided between us the mo-
 ney he still possessed, and again recommended
 his memory to our care. He beheld the tears
 upon our cheeks, and bid us adieu. A few mo-
 ments before he expired, the Abbé Brothier came
 to offer him his spiritual comforts. Du Coudray
 thanked him, and declined his offer. He said,
 "I have always believed in God, and have al-
 "ways confided in his justice." Marbois closed
 the eyes of his friend.

Laffond, who was almost in the agonies of
 death, and weaker than du Coudray, was witness
 to this heart-rending scene, which he survived
 two days. He was overpowered by pain, and

could scarcely articulate ; but seemed to retain all his senses. He only named his children and his wife ; and his last looks were fixed upon her portrait.

I cannot describe the grief and dejection we suffered in consequence of this loss, the melancholy of Marbois, or the mourning and lamentations which surrounded us during the obsequies. They were buried in the path between the fort and the redoubt.

The forlorn and violent death of our friends, the rage and vehemence of the commandant, who, whenever a signal was made for the enemy's ships, armed himself, and exclaimed, " Ah, you reckon upon the English ! You may think as you please, but they shall never take you away alive." All these atrocities, together with the approach of the fatal season of rains and hurricanes, made us earnestly sigh for the day, when we might in freedom brave other dangers, and rescue ourselves from this living tomb.

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Our plan was fixed previous to the illness of Tronçon du Coudray and Laffond. I have already said we had rejected the idea of taking refuge with the Indians, and had determined to trust ourselves to the ocean. We knew that the inhabitants of Surinam took a lively interest in our situation; of which they had given us a proof by sending General Pichegru a present of beer and fresh provisions. It is true, we did not receive it; but the insolence of the French coaster, who took charge of it, and came to the fort, boasting, in our presence, of having, together with his crew, drank and eaten the provisions sent us by the Dutch of Surinam, revealed to us this important secret. This circumstance flattered and increased our hopes; but we had no knowledge of that immense and uninhabited coast; we had no means of navigating the intermediate seas; and as the schooners, which are the only vessels that frequent the river of Sinamary, moor at the point which is a league from the fort, we could entertain no hopes of eluding the vigilance of the commandant, or of reaching and carrying off from the anchorage one of those

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vessels ; for we had no arms or means of accomplishing such a project,

We often walked on the rampart facing the river, where we fixed our eyes on the Western coast, and sighed for liberty. Our imagination exhausted itself, and we fatigued our eyes and thoughts with this monotonous view, where we neither perceived any thing on the water or in the woods, that could awaken in us one glimmering of hope. At the foot of the bastion without the fort, and by the bank of the river, was a small canoe, used for conveying the guard to the redoubt at the Point, and to bring back those whom they relieved. This canoe had all its apparatus, and was consigned to the care of the sentinel posted on the flanked angle of the bastion, within which was the guard-house. We had often beheld it with longing eyes ; but it was only by degrees, and through being urged by despair, that we accustomed ourselves to the idea of going out upon the open sea in so slender a vessel. None of us knew how to navigate a boat, and especially a canoe ; of which the

management is difficult and dangerous amidst the waves of the sea ; and, as we had no compass, it was necessary to confide in an Indian or a sailor.

Our first attempt miscarried. Pichegru having endeavoured to engage an Indian in the plot, who came to sell vegetables in the fort, the latter spread the suspicions which this attempt had awakened:

We hazarded, however, the opening ourselves, without reserve, to a person then in the fort, but whom I must not name. Should this journal fall into his hands, let him receive in secret this public acknowledgement of my gratitude, and of that of my companions ; and let him feel the true motives of my silence, as well as of my regret at being unable to publish his name at the same time that I commemorate his generosity.

This individual received our confidence with feeling and humanity, and justified the good opinion we entertained of his heart. He was well acquainted with the coast, and confirmed our

idea that we could only go to Surinam; -but, while he gave us the information, of which we were so greedy, relative to the various Dutch posts, he assured us, that in this small and slender canoe we should not be able to get there; that it was at least a hundred leagues from Sinamary to the gates of Fort Orange, or of Monte-Krick; that it would not be at all safe to go on shore nearer than that point; that even when we got there, so severe a vigilance prevailed in the Dutch colony, that we must not make ourselves known; and that all strangers who were not furnished with good passports, were sent away, and not permitted to enter the territory. It was by means of this policy, and a system of administration at once firm and mild, that the former governor of this happy colony had preserved it to the mother country. Mr. Frédéric had thus, from the beginning of the revolution, maintained his independence not only of the English, whose protection he had rejected, and from whose attacks he was on the point of defending the colony of Surinam, but of the revolutionary party; to whom he had refused to abandon the valuable

property of his fellow citizens. How many new sources of hope! How many new difficulties to encounter!

We had at Cayenne, one of those friends so rarely to be met with in these revolutionary times, who feared not to commit himself; and, had I, with indiscreet gratitude, trusted his name to my pen, would still have courageously braved the resentment of the tyrants. Him we informed of our scheme; and, within a week, he transmitted us, by a confidential person, eight passports, all signed by the hand of Jeannet, and exactly conformable to those he was in the habit of giving to the inhabitants of Surinam who went on business to the neighbouring colonies.

They were in the following borrowed names:-
that of

Barthélemy was in the name of Gallois.

Pichgru Picard.

Dessonville - **Daunon.**

Aubry - - - **Desailleux.**

La Rue - **Delvezai.**

Tellier	-	Tollibois.
Willot	-	Toulouse.
Ramel	-	Frédéric.

In proportion as our scheme advanced, we redoubled our precautions, to prevent our jailors from having the slightest suspicion of it. But towards those of our fellow-prisoners, who were not in the secret, we were obliged to employ a double degree of circumspection, however difficult to be adhered to. The Abbé Brothier suspected some mystery, but did not discover its object. He confined himself to repeating frequently, "you keep me in the dark; you are plotting something that I well know; and I will have you caught in the fact:" nor, indeed, was he incapable of such conduct. We could now extend the circle of our confidences no further, without risking the success of our plan. When I reckoned up our conspirators, and stole a glance from the ramparts at this narrow canoe, I thought it very insufficient for our purpose; yet, although our party was already too numerous, we determined to make one more attempt to induce Mar-

bois to accompany us ; but he was as inflexible in his resolution as he was in his opinions. Nor would he consent to abandon his sick colleagues while alive, particularly his friend du Coudray ; and, since their deaths, he seemed rooted to the ground that covered their remains.

But neither the opinion of Marbois, nor the account he gave us of the dangers of a navigation which he knew better than any of us, nor our regret at leaving him ; nothing could deter us from putting our scheme in execution, such and so strong were the disgust and horror we felt for the prison of Sinamary.

We now only wanted a pilot ; but where was it possible to find, amidst this desert, a man capable of so much generosity, or rather an angel, to lead us forth from these infernal regions ? This event Providence brought about as follows ;

The order of the Directory to take neutral ships is said to have caused a great multitude of small

privateers, whose avarice was still further excited by Jeannet, to leave Cayenne about the 20th of May. One of these vessels, commanded by Captain Poisvert, captured, in the latitude of Sinamary, an American ship, commanded by Captain Tilly, who was himself the owner of the cargo. It consisted principally of flour and provisions, which that Captain was actually bringing to Cayenne. He had also on board 40,000 bottles of Bordeaux and Rhenish wines, and of various wines, the produce of Spain.

The fear of being taken, in their turn, by some English frigate or privateer, while plying to windward, in order to escape the currents, and get to Cayenne, induced Captain Poisvert to come and meet, together with his prize, in the road of Sinamary. Perhaps, also, he feared he should have to share his prey with the lion Jeannet.

Poisvert himself brought the crew of his prize to the fort of Sinamary, together with Captain Tilly, whom he treated with great respect. This was a great event for the commandant Aimé, who expected

expected to derive some profit from the circumstance, as well as the pleasure of drinking his fill of Bourdeaux wine. The negroes, and a part of the garrison, were also happy in unloading and landing the American cargo. This new object of attention was a diversion very much in our favour.

But what was our astonishment when Captain Tilly came to us alone, and, bursting into tears, cried, “ ’twas you, alas! my unfortunate friends, “whom I came in search of! I knew you were “here, have brought news from your families and “friends, and have packets for you concealed in “barrels, which it is now out of my power “to touch. I had no idea of being attacked “by a French privateer, and suffered myself to “fall to leeward towards Cayenne, in order to have “an excuse for anchoring in the road of Sinaamary, “or in that of Couru, whence I hoped to carry on “intelligence with you, and effect your escape. “But Heaven has disposed of us otherwise. I “hoped to have been your deliverer, but, alas! I

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“ am your fellow-prisoner. What can I still do
 “ to serve you ? ”

It is not easy to judge of the impression which, in such circumstances, the first words of Captain Tilly made upon our minds. To us his very presence was a blessing; for he was the only individual who, since our imprisonment at Sinamary, had been able freely to communicate with us, or give us any certain intelligence of our wretched country, and the general state of affairs. We had heard of the peace of Campo-Formio; and Tilly completed our astonishment, as well as indignation, by informing us of the invasion of Switzerland. Barthélemy, in particular, was much affected with it. In short, the violences committed against the Americans, of which he was himself a striking proof, fully convinced us, that our miserable fellow-citizens were entirely enslaved; and that the usurpations of the Directory were subject to no restraint.

The frank and open manners of Captain Tilly,

the interest he took in our fate, and in which we might conclude his free and generous countrymen participated; unavoidably procured him our confidence, and we communicated to him our scheme. We led him to the rampart, as it were to walk; and shewed him the canoe. He shook his head, and said—"No, no, gentlemen, do not run that risk; for you will certainly perish. That canoe cannot hold you all; nor carry you to Surinam. You may rely on my experience, that it is impossible." We replied that we were resolved to perish, rather than remain with these barbarians; and that, besides, we were only running freely to meet inevitable death, of which, even in the sudden and violent event of a shipwreck, the horrors would be softened by the remembrance of the long continued agony of our friends.—"Well," returned he, "I do not think you can escape so many dangers, but do not refuse me to participate in them. I will myself steer the canoe; I will also bring my pilot, my intrepid Berwick, and perhaps Heaven may protect, and the winds favour us."

From that time, Captain Tilly appeared equally earnest with ourselves to effect ~~our~~ escape, and he communicated our scheme to the brave Berwick, who did not hesitate a moment in devoting himself to our safety. Captain Tilly never could obtain our consent to join in the expedition, but he took no notice of our refusals, or of the fears he himself had awakened in us, relative to the smallness of the canoe.

Every thing being now ready, nothing remained to be done, but to choose a favourable moment for eluding the vigilance of the commandant Aimé, escaping that of Brothier, attacking the post, or at least the sentinel who had charge of the canoe, quitting the fort to go away with it, and lastly, to get out to sea before the garrison was alarmed.

The reader will remember what I have said of the secret services rendered us by certain individuals, and he may readily conceive their exertions to enable us to overcome these last difficulties. But, without precisely pointing out the indivi-

deals I allude to, it will be sufficient to describe the means employed.

It was now the first of June, and the appointed day was at hand, as well as the scene that was to facilitate our enterprise. The *dénouement* of our plot approached under the sinister omen of the funeral obsequies of our friends. We had recently performed the last offices to Laffond, when Captain Tilly brought us intelligence, that Jean-net had given orders to send him and all his crew to Cayenne, for which place they were to embark next day. To us this news was like a thunderbolt, and almost disheartened us. Tilly, however, was absolutely determined to sacrifice himself, and to hide himself in the woods till the next day (the third of June), which was the last day appointed for our awful attempt. On that day he said he would run to the canoe on a signal agreed upon. We had great difficulty to induce him to give up the honour of so great an action to the brave Berwick. We observed to him, that Berwick disappearing at the time of calling over the crew of the prize would not awaken so

much suspicion as that of the captain, whose visits to the deported persons and his walks with them had been already too much noticed. It was, however, with great reluctance that Tilly yielded to this last consideration. He parted from us indeed to expose himself even to greater dangers than we encountered, as on him would fall all the fury of Jeannet, whether we were so happy as to escape, or whether we were so unfortunate as to be discovered and arrested with Berwick. But Tilly thought of nothing but of our safety; and, if we could but once arrive at Surinam, he cared not what became of himself. How affecting was our parting scene! who among us all could venture to flatter himself with the hope of seeing thee again, worthy, incomparable Tilly!

Berwick instantly disappeared and concealed himself in the woods. It was agreed, that, two days after (on the 8d of June), at the nine o'clock gun, he should be upon the bank of the river under the bastion; and that he should leap into the canoe the moment he saw us appear: but we were extremely uneasy on his account, for, as we feared,

he was almost devoured by noxious animals; nor could he defend himself from the serpents and that terrible animal the cayman but by continuing thirty-six hours on a tree, and even there he was not secure from tigers.

Captain Poisvert had invited the commandant of the fort to dinner on the 3d of June, on board the American prize, in return for the kind reception he had met with, and the assistance he had received from the garrison, which had two days before vigorously attacked an English privateer, that had approached the anchorage. At the same time that he entertained the commandant with a handsome dinner, and gave him the choicest wines he had on board, he had distributed to the garrison some common Bourdeaux wine. A girl, who had arrived some days before from Cayenne, did the honours, and delivered bottles of wine in profusion to the soldiers in their barracks and guard-house, to the negroes in their rooms, to the sentinels at their posts, and to the deported under their corridor. Ah! how long this day appeared! with what pleasure we watched

this young girl thus joyously pouring out bumpers to the half intoxicated soldiers. Her activity and solicitude served us to our utmost wishes.

Every one drank freely, as we did ourselves, and, seeming to take part in these orgies, we feigned a quarrel among us while at dinner, in order to avoid giving the most trifling indication of the plot. Aubry and Laruc abused Barthélemy, le Tellier also took part in the dispute, Dossonville and Pichegru threatened each other, and Willot and myself seemed desirous of pacifying the rest. Glasses and plates flew about, and the uproar was so great, that the rest of the deported persons came in to separate us. The Abbé Brothier himself endeavoured to put an end to this disturbance, which only increased the more: but Barthélemy, who was the least skilful in feigning passion, coolly breaking his glass in an awkward gesture of rage, a burst of laughter had nearly betrayed us.

Night came on, and we saw the commandant

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Aimé brought in, dead drunk, like a corpse. Silence had now succeeded to the songs and cries of intoxication, and the soldiers and negroes lay dispersed here and there. The service was forgot, and the guard-house abandoned.

Before we retired into our rooms we took leave of Marbois, to whom our separation was a painful sacrifice, and who considered this as our last hour. The clock struck nine, the last we heard at Sinamary, and Dossonville, who was upon the watch, gave us all notice to begin our enterprise ; upon which we went out and assembled near the gate of the fort, of which the draw-bridge was not yet up. All was sleep and silence. I mounted the bastion of the guard-house with Pichegru and Aubry, and went directly to the sentinel (the contemptible drummer who had so often tormented us), and asked him the hour. He made no answer, but fixed his eyes upon the stars ; upon which I seized him by the throat, while Pichegru disarmed him, and we dragged him along, throttling him so as to prevent his crying out. We were now upon the parapet, and he

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struggled so violently that he got away from us and fell into the river. We then rejoined our companions at the foot of the rampart, and perceiving no one in the guard-house, ran in and took arms and cartridges. We then went out of the fort and flew to the canoe. Berwick was already there, and helped us to get into it. Barthélemy, who was very infirm and less active than the rest of us, fell, and sunk in the mud; but Berwick caught hold of him and saved him, and, having put him into the canoe, cut the rope. Berwick now took the helm, while we, motionless and silent, went with the stream. The current and the tide bore our light bark rapidly along, and we heard nothing but the murmurs of the waters and of the land breeze, which swelled our little sail, and wafted us from our tomb of Sinamary.

We now approached the redoubt at the point, which it was necessary to pass, and therefore we struck our sail to avoid being seen. We knew that the eight men, who were upon guard at the redoubt, had received their share of the favours

of Captain Poisvert, and that they also must be drunk. We accordingly were not hailed, and the tide carried us beyond the bar. We passed to the left of our brave friend Tilly's ship, and very near the schooner *la Victoire*, which was lately arrived from Cayenne, and which we knew was commanded by the worthy Captain Bracket, to whom our escape must have given great pleasure, and who certainly would not have opposed us.

The breeze freshened and the sea was smooth, But, had we left the coast, we should have been in danger of mistaking our tract; and, if we kept too near the shore, we might have fallen upon the rocks, which are numerous there as far as Iraconbo. The moon now suddenly appeared, as if on purpose to give us light. This was a delicious moment. We congratulated each other, and thanked Providence and our generous pilot, who was in a dreadful state, being much swelled and disfigured by the stings of venomous insects.

We had proceeded smoothly for about two

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hours, when we heard three guns, two from the fort of Sinamary, and one from the redoubt at the point; and, soon after, the post at Iraconbo answered with three. We doubted not but our flight was now discovered, yet were no longer afraid of a direct pursuit from Sinamary, where there was not one boat that could go out to sea. At all events, we had already got considerably the start of them, and the ships in the road alone could have given us chase. But Captains Poisvert and Bracket, over whom Aimé had no command, would not have weighed anchor and put to sea without orders from Jeannet.

We had, therefore, nothing to apprehend but from the detachment of Iraconbo, which we knew consisted but of twelve men; nor could they come after us but in a boat nearly like our own, with eight or ten armed men on board. We continued, however, ranging along the coast, and got our arms in readiness, being determined to defend ourselves if attacked, or in case our passage, under the fort of Iraconbo, should be impeded.

At four in the morning, we heard two guns to

the Eastward, which were answered, within a minute after, by another close to us. We were at this time before the fort, but it was dark, and we saw nothing. We sailed fast, and when day appeared, Iraconbo was to leeward of us. We had now no fear of being pursued, and had only the dangers of the sea to overcome.

Our canoe was so small and so low sided, that every sea filled it; so that we were continually at work, bailing her, and she was so light, that the least motion might have upset us. Hence we were nearly lost by an imprudence of which I alone was guilty. As I was rowing, I happened to make a false stroke with my oar, and my hat fell into the water; upon which, leaning eagerly over to regain it, I threw the boat out of her trim, and it was with great difficulty we rightened her. But Berwick's address, together with our activity, soon remedied this disaster; and I was severely reprimanded by Pichegru, whom we had made our captain. Barthélemy, being still covered with mud, took this opportunity to wash himself. I had the misfortune to lose my hat,

and had no means of defending my head from the burning rays of the sun, but by making myself a turban of some Banana leaves, which the negro fishermen had left in the bottom of the canoe.

As we had neither compass, nor instruments for taking the sun's altitude, we might have lost our way in the night : and the least gale of wind might have driven us out to sea, whenever we were obliged to keep off the shore, on account of the rocks or currents near the mouths of rivers. It had been impossible for us to bring away any provision, and we had not even a biscuit or a drop of water. Le Tellier, however, had brought two bottles of rum ; and we were persuaded, the winds that constantly blow from East to West along this coast would carry us, in two days, to Monte-Krick. It was enough, therefore, if we could support our strength till then by means of this spirituous liquor.

On the 4th we suffered much from the heat. We had, however, a good breeze, with which we

ranged along the coast ; and when night prevented us from seeing the land, we reckoned that we were opposite the mouth of the river Marowni, the banks of which are the limits that separate the Dutch and French territories, and which is but forty leagues to windward of the port of Monte-Krick. Yet at eleven o'clock when the moon rose, we perceived nothing either in the appearance of the land, or the motion of the water, to shew that we were near a great river. On the 5th we were not more fortunate, and we pursued our course till night, without any signs of the river or fort of Marowni. We were still, in all probability, somewhat to windward of the river of Amaribo, a part of the coast which rises a little towards the North-East, and intercepts the view.

On the 6th we were becalmed. Having now been three days without food, we suffered the most cruel hunger, and were extremely parched by the sun, the heat of which was not now tempered by the breeze ; and, as our minds were neither occupied by motion, nor supported by the hope of speedily reaching the end of our

fatiguing voyage, we were forcibly struck with the horror of our situation, and it was with difficulty we kept up our courage ; for we had now nothing to expect from human assistance, nothing from our own exertions, which were thus deluded by the elements. It was on this very day of despair that we mutually urged each other to sacrifice even our just resentment, and not to suffer vengeance to take possession of our minds. We swore, in the presence of the Almighty, never to bear arms against our country, and resigned ourselves to the will of Providence.

The next day, the 7th of June, and the 4th of our voyage, a breeze sprang up, and freshened a little towards eight o'clock in the morning ; and at ten we were in sight of Fort Marowni, and opposite the mouth of the river, which the shallow reefs and currents render very dangerous. It was, indeed, with great fatigue and risk we surmounted these obstacles. We were also much harrassed by the monstrous sharks that surrounded and attacked our canoe, and which we were obliged to drive off by firing at them.

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We supported the torment of hunger with so much patience as even to indulge in pleasantries relative to the various symptoms of our sufferings. In the meanwhile we continually watched, but still in vain, for the fort and river of Orange, and at six o'clock in the evening were again becalmed.

At three in the morning of the 8th the wind freshening, we got under weigh. At one we were in sight of Fort Orange, which we doubled, intending not to go on shore until we got as far as Monte-Krick, as had been recommended to us; and were opposite the fort, at about a gun-shot from it, when we were saluted with several guns loaded with ball, and of large calibre, which followed each other so rapidly, that we should inevitably have been sunk, had we gone further out to sea. This severity made us afraid of again approaching the shore; but we have since learnt, it was merely intended to make us hoist our flag, of which we had none.

At four o'clock in the afternoon the sky low-

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ered, the wind increased, and we sailed very fast; yet we could scarcely escape the swell of the sea, which drove us towards the shore. Our brave pilot hoped we should reach Monte-Krick before the storm, but we could not expect to weather it. We were now every moment in danger of being lost: Berwick steered towards the shore, and the instant we gained it, a heavy sea broke and upset us. It was low water, and we sunk in the mud; yet notwithstanding the exertions we were obliged to make to disengage ourselves, notwithstanding the dreadful storm that raged around us, we did not lose hold of our canoe, and even succeeded in setting her upon her bottom.

At length we got on shore, not knowing where we were, or whether it was possible for us to go along the coast as far as Fort Orange, from which we reckoned ourselves eight leagues; although, in reality, our distance was but four.

We were now worn out with hunger and fatigue; our ragged clothes were wet, and covered with mud;

and we found no shelter but a wood, which was full of insects and reptiles. We had lost our arms and ammunition when the canoe was upset : night was coming on, and we heard nothing but the howling of tigers and the roaring of the sea. What a dreadful night ! The winds raging, a deluge of rain falling, and accompanied with chilling cold. We were obliged to exert all our strength and labour throughout the night to keep hold of our canoe, which the waves continually washed away ; and which, notwithstanding all our exertions, was much damaged. It will hardly be believed, that we still retained sufficient strength to persevere in these efforts, after having suffered so much fatigue during five days and nights, without food. We were all naked in the sea, struggling with the waves, which were thus robbing us of our last hopes. Barthélemy, notwithstanding his infirmities, worked with the rest, and afforded an example of patience and courage during this dreadful night.

At day break on the 9th of June, which was the 6th day since our departure from Sinamary,

we beheld each other with mutual compassion, half frozen with cold and almost ready to sink under our fatigues. We consoled ourselves by saying: "At least, we shall not die in their hands."

Pichegru had saved his pipe and his utensils for lighting, with which we contrived to make a fire and thus dried our cloaths. At length the heavens became serene, but the wind continued to blow with violence.

We now laid ourselves down upon our bellies on the sand, unable to defend ourselves from the stings of insects and the bites of crabs. Fortunately le Tellier had taken such good care of his little stock of rum that half a bottle still remained: but our hearts were so depressed, that we had not strength to swallow and only refreshed ourselves by washing our mouths and lips with these spirits.

During this day (the 9th June), the heroic le Tellier had contrived a shelter for Barthélemy with branches of trees, and while the latter lay down,

to rest or rather to faint, le Tellier, forgetting his own sufferings, drove away the insects with a light branch, particularly from the face and hands of his master. What an affectionate attachment ! what a glorious part did this worthy fellow act in alleviating our misfortunes !

At night the sky was again overcast, and we were obliged to work while the tide was in, to preserve our canoe, which we had no means of fastening. As the tigers approached very near us, we increased our fire ; and thus we passed the remainder of this night which was the second since we were cast on shore and the 7th of our escape.

At day break on the 10th of June we perceived at a distance, a vessel, which Berwick discovered to be an English privateer.

We had sheltered ourselves under some trees, where we had formed a kind of hut, from which I went out at 6 in the morning, to examine the weather and our canoe. Having crawled a

few steps, I perceived, about 200 paces from us, on the beach, two armed men, upon which I ran in, crying, "I see men;" all our party instantly rose up, and Berwick, though the most indisposed on account of having been so severely stung in the woods of Sinamary, darted forward towards them, while we concealed ourselves, that our numbers might not alarm them. On seeing our poor Berwick, who scarcely retained the form of a human being, the two soldiers stopped and levelled their muskets at him, on which he fell upon his knees and raised his hands in a suppliant posture, at the same time crying out, making signs, and pointing to the canoe. The soldiers listened to him, and came towards him, and at the same time we all surrounded them. We soon found they were two German soldiers of the garrison of Monte-Krick, and Pichegru entering into conversation with them, learnt that we were but three leagues from that fort. These men had been sent on duty to Fort Orange, where they would not fail to give an account of the number and situation of the persons they had found cast away, and therefore we determined to depute two

of our party to the commandant of the fort, to ask for succours and exhibit our passports, but at the same time concealing who we were.

We fixed upon Barthélemy and la Rue, whom we caused to drink the remainder of our rum before they set out. At the very time they arrived at Fort Orange, the commandant was dispatching a picquet of fifty men to fetch us away. Our ambassadors declared the object of our voyage, stating us to be merchants, and describing all the particulars of our being cast away, in consequence of which we had lost all our provisions and effects; and adding that the bad state of our canoe which was almost broken to pieces, would not admit of our putting to sea again after the storm. The commandant received them with great humanity, and having ordered them some victuals, sent workmen and negroes to repair our boat and assist in setting it afloat, and to search for our pretended merchandize. When we saw this troop consisting of about twenty persons at a distance, we were very uneasy, till two of these workmen who spoke French had explained their

orders, upon which having shewed them the canoe, they drew it ashore and began to repair it with the greatest industry and skill.

At 6 in the evening Barthélemy and la Rue arrived; but they were so much overjoyed and so agitated, that they did not think of bringing us a bottle of water. We could scarcely believe that Barthélemy had strength enough remaining to perform a journey of 8 leagues on these burning sands.

Our canoe being now repaired, and the sea having become smooth, we were desirous of immediately embarking; but were obliged to wait for the tide. In the meanwhile, the workmen, whom we recompensed as well as we could, and whom we were sorry to detain during the night, had orders not to leave us till they saw us at sea. Poor Berwick was growing worse, and as we were obliged to pass this night also amidst hostile insects, it might have proved the last of his life: for it must not be forgotten, that this worthy fellow, whose corporeal strength equalled his

his courage and generosity, had suffered cruel torments during the two days he had past in the woods of Sinamary, waiting for the appointed time of our expedition. We had now not an instant to lose, to save him who had preserved our lives.

At day break, on the 11th June, Barthélemy, la Rue, Aubry and Dossonville set off along the coast towards Monte-Krick, to procure food and lodgings for the poor shipwrecked merchants.

Some hours after their departure, and at high water, Pichegru, Willot, le Tellier, and myself, re-entered our canoe, which the workmen vigorously pushed off, and then took their leave of us; while Berwick, though almost dying, resumed the helm. A little before noon, we entered the small river of Monte-Krick, where we landed, while Berwick triumphed in our success, which he considered as the full reward of his kindness and generosity.

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The commandant of the post at Monte-Krick had already received our companions with kindness, and had ordered us a spacious, clean and comfortable room by the side of the creek. What a moment of joy was that of our meeting in this happy place ! Our friends had prepared for us two fowls, some rice, and bread, which, on this occasion, was watered with tears of pleasure and gratitude ! We were alive ! We had escaped our persecutors, the dangers of the waves, and the horrors of famine ! In short, we were free !

Having taken a little nourishment, though with many precautions, we made fast our boat, which we cherished as if it had been an animated being, and towards which we felt both affection and gratitude.

We then paid a visit to the captain who commanded at the fort, and to whom our arrival caused much embarrassment. He saw no probability in the story of our being merchants ; an assertion which our destitute condition and rag-

ged dress belied, as our language belied our wretched appearance.

His surprise was increased at the smallness of our boat, and our boldness in venturing in it out at sea. As this captain spoke French, we did our best to persuade him our story was true, and shewed him our passports. We observed that he had a copy of the description of the deported stuck behind the looking-glass; Jeannet having printed and distributed it to all the neighbouring colonies, and all the posts along the coast.

This worthy commandant, who, without giving himself much trouble about the truth of our story, treated us kindly, merely because we were unfortunate, shewed us himself this description without any suspicion, as he afterwards assured us, that we were the persons: and, certainly, it would at this time have been difficult to recognize any of us. He asked us, however, if we had touched at Sinamary? to which we replied, we had not. "And what," said he, "is become
" of those unfortunate men, Pichegru and Barthé-

“ lemy, and their unfortunate companions ?” We told him, “ they had been in great misery, but “ that they now hoped for a change of fortune.”

Having giving orders to supply us with necessities, the commandant told us, he was about to give an account of our arrival to the governor of the colony. He made no secret of the motives for the vigilance which had been particularly enjoined him with regard to the French. The colony of Surinam, he said, had been preserved, by the vigilance of its commander, from the troubles which had ruined all the French settlements. The negro slaves were better treated there, were more happy, and, consequently, more laborious, than if they had received the fatal and delusive gift of liberty. Jeannet, being displeased at the refusal of some unwarrantable demands for money or provisions, had said that “ he would revenge himself on those aristocrats, “ and revolutionize Surinam ;” and hence the commandants along the coast had orders narrowly to watch all the French who landed in the colony.

We therefore wrote to the governor, relating, in a few words, the atrocities we had experienced both in France and Sinamary, our escape, and our being cast away ; and we solicited refuge and protection in the name of humanity and of honour.

It is twenty-four leagues from Monte-Krick to Paramaribo, the capital of Surinam, where the governor resides.

On the 12th we passed the day in resting ourselves, and attending those of our party whom our first refreshments had not restored to their strength ; particularly Dossonville, who had symptoms of a very serious illness, and poor Berwick, who was in a high fever.

We had all a hideous appearance, being much burnt by the sun, and the reflection from the sea ; much swelled and disfigured by the stings of insects ; our clothes in no better condition than our bodies ; and some of us were even without shoes. We endeavoured, however, to

mend our rags to the best of our power. We blushed, not for ourselves, but for our country, to appear in this deplorable condition in the eyes of foreign nations.

In the morning of the 13th, a planter, whose estate lay near Monte-Krick, invited us to his house, and made us the kindest offers, though without suspecting who we were, and being very urgent that we should accompany him immediately. We were about to attend him, when Willot, whose turn it was to watch our friendly canoe, descried a cavalier at a distance, and called us to observe him. Pichegru recognized the Dutch uniform, and assured us he was a superior officer. As soon as he saw our quarters, which had, no doubt, been described by the commandant, he clapped spurs to his horse, dismounted, came up to the room where we were assembled, and, with extreme agitation, said, " M. Gallois, " M. Picard, are you here ?" Upon this Barthélemy and Pichegru immediately came forward, dressed in a coarse vest or jacket, of grey cloth. The Dutch general shewed marks of surprise and indigna-

tion, then embraced them repeatedly, and pressed us all alternately in his arms, unable for some time to utter a single word. "Gentlemen," said he, after a short interval, "you formed a just idea of our governor. He is waiting with impatience for your arrival, and all the inhabitants of Surinam are equally affected with your misfortunes."

On this we burst into tears, and our excessive joy had nearly been fatal to some of us. Worthy and humane Dutchman, receive the homage of that gratitude, of which prudence alone restrains the expression !

When we left Monte-Krick we reluctantly took leave of our canoe, which we had christened *San Salvador*, and would willingly have taken it with us. At some distance from our quarters, on the creek, we found two gondolas were waiting for us, in one of which refreshments were set out, and in the other clothes, linen and shoes.

It is impossible to conceive the delicious sen-

tations we now experienced, without having, like us, been exposed naked on the burning sand to the scorching rays of the sun, and the severe cold arising from heavy rains and the dew of night. The same day, which was Sunday the 13th of June, we slept at the plantation of a friend of the governor's, who, having learned from him our arrival at Monte-Krick, insisted on our passing the night at his house, regretting that, being engaged in town by business, he could not meet us. He had, however, given orders to prepare apartments and provisions for us. What an agreeable surprise! what a powerful impression did the sight of this plantation excite! we came as it were from the regions of Tartarus and entered those of Elysium. We were delighted with his spacious gardens, his beautiful groves, his fine house, his table which was sumptuously set out, his elegant apartments, and his comfortable beds.

After supper, the negroes danced before us, to banish as it were from our memory the outrages of Sinamary.

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On the morning of the 14th, having enjoyed that repose to which we had so long been strangers, we re-embarked in our gondolas and dropped down the river Comervine, admiring the rich plantations which adorn its banks, the neatness of the innumerable canals, the elegance of the gardens, and the magnificence of the buildings. At length we entered the river of Surinam, and at noon arrived at a plantation, where we were expected by several of the principal planters, who had assembled to meet us. We saw them waiting for us on the bank, which we had scarcely reached, before they sprang forward into our boat and embraced us with an effusion of fraternal affection.

Here we were treated with a magnificence which formed an honourable contrast with our long beards and disfigured countenances.

The tide permitted us to depart at four o'clock. About an hour afterwards we met a splendid gondola, in which was the governor himself, who was coming to meet us. He immediately came

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into our bark, and embraced us with a lively emotion, saying—" Welcome, all of you ; for-
 " get if possible your misfortunes ; I will do every
 " thing in my power to efface them from your
 " memories. We are all happy to see you. The
 " whole colony, and myself in particular, are at
 " your command."

As we passed under the fort of Nassau, we were saluted with 50 guns, which were repeated gun for gun by the fort of Amsterdam on the right bank, and the batteries of Paramaribo answered them. We were about a league from the city when it grew dusk, and it became quite dark before we entered the port.

The whole town was illuminated ; the garrison and the colonial militia were under arms, and we landed amidst the discharges of musketry and artillery from the square and from the fleet. The acclamations of the people, and their cries of joy, re-echoed through the air ; they crowded about us, and shewed the greatest eagerness to see and embrace us. Thus surrounded by this nu-

merous escort, we arrived, amid the affectionate effusion of this happy and generous people, at the governor's palace.

His wife received us with equal gracefulness and sensibility ; and the impression our misfortunes made upon this charming woman was so powerful, that we were frequently obliged to avoid her presence, because she was too much affected by them.

The governor entertained Barthélemy and his faithful le Tellier, while the principal inhabitants contended for the pleasure of receiving us, and they all loaded us with proofs of esteem and affection. I would willingly describe the various entertainments and country excursions, with which the inhabitants of Paramaribo, who equally endeavoured to show the joy they felt at having us among them, contrived for us. The riches and luxury of the inhabitants of Surinām, the flourishing state of that colony, the smiling luxuriance of its crops, the charms of its internal navigation, and the pomp both of its public esta-

blishments and private houses, are universally known, and it is easy to form an idea of public entertainments : but what is difficult to conceive, because it is an extraordinary phenomenon, is, that benevolence and humanity should animate a whole people, and spread and communicate to every class the virtues and sympathies of the government. It was these sentiments, and not mere idle curiosity, that actuated our worthy and respectable hosts, who, far from importuning us with questions relative to the miseries we had suffered, on the contrary, carefully avoided the subject. But the horrid picture of Sinamary, the captivity of our companions who still remained there, and whose treatment perhaps was more severe in consequence of our escape, in short, the situation of the worthy Captain Tilly, who had so unfortunately fallen into the hands of Jeannet; these reflections haunted our imaginations, and, although they might enhance the value of the blessings Providence had showered upon us, and render the contrast of our present situation more striking, yet the most cruel reflections often disturbed these smiling scenes.

Our days were thus gliding on with rapidity, when, on the 18th of June, Captain David, a coaster belonging to Cayenne, arrived at Paramaribo, with dispatches from Jeannet to the governor, informing him of our escape. This letter concluded as follows :

“ If these gentlemen have not been taken by
 “ the English privateers, and if they have not per-
 “ rished, as I fear they have, they must doubtless
 “ have taken refuge in your colony. In that case,
 “ it is my duty to claim them in the name of the
 “ Directory, as prisoners of state. Should you be
 “ able to discover them, I request, and even re-
 “ quire you to put them under arrest ; but I in-
 “ treat you to use no violence towards them, and
 “ to grant them all the kindness due to their mis-
 “ fortunes.”

The governor replied, that he had not as yet heard of the escape of Messrs. Barthélemy, Pichegru, &c. but that eight merchants and a sailor had a few days before arrived at Paramaribo; that he sent him their description and the pass-

ports they had produced, and assured him that should the deported arrive, he would pay them all the requisite attentions.

Captain David was well treated and might, on his return, have explained to Jeannet, who would no doubt be astonished at finding his own signature to the passports, the true sense of the letter of which he was the bearer. Nothing further passed, and the captain returned to Cayenne.

We had learned, by Captain David, the painful news of the frigate *la Décade*, which had moored in the road of Cayenne, on the 6th of June, three days after our departure, and on board of which were 193 deported persons; among these were two members of the Council of Five Hundred, Gilbert des Molières and Job Aimé, both of them almost in a dying state.

We were far from harbouring any fears of the official demands of the proconsul of Guyana; but, as if to inspire us with new confidence, the

inhabitants lavished on us every possible attention, every amusement, and, in short, every proof of their unbounded benevolence.

In the meanwhile, we were very desirous of passing some days in the country; for most of us had not been able to recover strength enough to enjoy the pleasures that were offered us on every side. We all required rest, and sighed for the benefits of an European climate: in short, we determined, as soon as we had re-established the health of those who required it, and enjoyed, for a few days more, the attentions of the worthy governor and his friends, to embark in a neutral vessel for the North of Europe. Barthélemy was in so weak a state, that we had no hopes of his being able to accompany us, and the governor, thinking he would not be able to bear a sea voyage, urged him to renounce his plan, and remain with him. Dossonville was at the point of death. All the aids and remedies of art were lavished upon us, and no sooner were our intentions known, than our friends exerted all their efforts to dissuade us from it. They were desi-

rous, they said, of keeping us and guarding us at Surinam, till we should be recalled to our own country.

We returned to the town on the 27th, and were much surprised to find a second messenger arrived from Cayenne, who brought the governor an answer from Jeannet to his last dispatches.

In this second letter he confessed, that the passports of the pretended merchants were in fact signed by him; but he asserted that no such merchants as Gallois, Picard, and the rest, had ever existed in the colony of Guyana; that he was not ignorant that Barthélemy and Pichegru and six others of the deported were at Paramaribo; that he insisted on our being arrested, and that he would give an account of this transaction to his government.

In consequence of this letter we made an offer to the governor immediately to disappear and keep ourselves concealed until our departure for St. Thomas's, on which we had already determined.

mined. This precaution, however, that brave man said he should consider as a weakness.

But, averse to become the subjects of a quarrel and of revolutionary reprisals, on the part of Jeannet, we determined, on the evening of the 28th, to leave Surinam. Dossonville was better, and was desirous of going with us; and Barthélemy made us promise to wait for him at St. Thomas's.

On the 29th, our preparations were completed; a small and very commodious vessel belonging to Mr. Stiele was freighted in the name of the colony, and stocked with an abundance of provisions and refreshments; the pilot having instructions to obey the orders we should give him. We now took leave of Berwick, who was loaded with presents by the governor and inhabitants. We had nothing to offer him, nor could we have induced him to accept any thing but our gratitude, which we promised to publish to our fellow-citizens, and, if possible, throughout all Europe. I have discharged a small part of this sacred

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debt. He sailed a few days after for Philadelphia.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 30th of June, Pichegru, Willot, la Rue, Aubry, Dossonville and myself, left Paramaribo to sleep at the plantation of our worthy officer, which is at the mouth of the creek, where our vessel dropped down to wait for us. The inhabitants of Paramaribo took leave of us in the most affectionate manner. The governor and the principal officers came to the plantation, where many of the inhabitants assembled; and Barthélemy, though very ill, was carried thither, together with his inseparable le Tellier.

When I reflect on the affectionate embraces of our benefactors, and their last adieus by the seaside, I cannot restrain my tears; nor am I able to express what I felt at this parting scene. Our patriarchal Barthélemy was unable to speak, and could scarcely move, but he bestowed on us all the blessings his expressive looks and feeble

hands could communicate. It was about 8 in the evening, when we tore ourselves from the arms of these worthy people, and entered the canoe to go on board. M. de Badenbourg, an old officer in the Dutch service, brother of the governor of Berbice, embarked with us on his return to his brother, and was to part with us at the mouth of the river of that name.

When we had weighed anchor, our adieus were heard and repeated by our friends; and the banks, even when we could scarcely distinguish them, still re-echoed with these parting sounds; “Adieu—may you be happy—adieu—forget not “Surinam!”

There was a heavy swell, and we stood to the Westward, ranging along the coast till midnight, when a gun being fired at us with ball obliged us to bring to. It was from an English privateer, which had approached us unperceived by our pilot. The privateer, not finding us bring to fast enough, fired a second gun, and, when we were within gun-shot, saluted us with a discharge of

case shot. Being now hailed by them, we answered, that we came from Surinam, and were going to Berbice with dispatches. But not satisfied with this, the captain insisted on visiting us. The night was very dark, and the two ships ran foul of each other. The English captain examined our papers and passports, having reckoned on a good capture; but he only took away our fruits, and, withdrawing his men, left us to pursue our course.

At day break the next morning (the 1st July), we had another alarm. A gun was fired to make us bring to; and, on our attempting to avoid it, a second was fired, which was so well aimed, that the wind of the ball threw down the pilot, who was at the helm; in consequence of which our ship drifted with the current from the river Corentin, of which we were abreast, and we had nearly upset.

But what was our surprise and alarm when we heard ourselves hailed in French! I only saw negroes on the deck, and had now no doubt but

we had fallen into the hands of one of Hugues's privateers; especially when I saw the captain launch his pinnace, which was manned by six negroes. M. de Badenbourg, who was equally alarmed with ourselves, now came upon deck, and having looked for a short time at the boat, cried out: " Good day, Captain Anderson; how do you do?" This removed all our fears; and we afterwards learnt, that this Captain Anderson had a short time before, in the latitude of the Canaries, visited a ship, on board of which M. de Badenbourg was a passenger, when he came from Europe. The captain was very civil, and, when he learnt who we were, offered to escort us; for he assured us, the coast was much infested with Hugues's privateers.

At day break the next morning (2nd July), our pilot got sight of the river Berbice, which he approached, in order to put M. de Badenbourg on shore. As we were launching our pinnace, a vessel which we had observed during some hours, fired several guns at us. We had taken it for an English ship, but its manœuvres, and its obsti-

nacy in bringing us to, though they saw us tack about at the mouth of the Berbice, convinced us it was a French privateer ; and, accordingly, we were scarcely under the guns of the fort of St. Andrew, before we saw them moor beyond their range, in order to block up the river. We determined, therefore, to put into Berbice, which was a Dutch colony in the possession of the English ; requesting M. de Badenbourg to apply to his brother to give us refuge till we could again put to sea in safety.

We went up the river with the tide ; and soon after we had parted from M. de Badenbourg, two boats came to bring us on shore. We were conducted to the governor's house, where we met with that good reception we had reason to expect from the brother of our worthy shipmate.

We told him we had been pursued by privateers, and solicited refuge and protection. He answered literally as follows :

“ Be not uneasy, gentlemen ; here you are under
 “ der the protection of the English government ;
 “ but I must request your word of honour, that
 “ you will not quit the territories that are under
 “ the authority of His Britannic Majesty, without
 “ the consent of the government.”

We had now no longer the power of receding ;
 and, being convinced of the impossibility of
 reaching the Danish island of St. Thomas, with-
 out falling into the hands of the privateers, by
 which Victor Hugues, informed, no doubt, of
 our flight, caused us to be pursued, we gave the
 governor this assurance, and confided ourselves
 to the cares and attentions of M. de Baden-
 bourg.

This governor, and all the inhabitants of the
 colony, were anxious to give us as kind a recep-
 tion as we had met with at Surinam. Madame
 de Badenbourg, who is a most amiable woman,
 and a model of elegance and domestic virtue,
 being surrounded by a numerous and charming
 family, lavished upon us innumerable attentions

and presents, and omitted nothing to render our stay at Berbice agreeable.

Colonel Heslop, commandant of the military forces of His Britannic Majesty at the colonies of Berbice and Demerary, having heard of our arrival, came to Berbice, and informed us, that General Boyard, commander in chief of the land forces in the Windward Islands, had recently sent him orders to convey us to Martinico; and that, to defend us from privateers, Admiral Hervey had dispatched a frigate, which he expected to arrive on the 14th (it was now the 9th), when we were to go to Demerary.

In addition to these generous offers of protection from the English government, the Colonel expressed the kindest concern for our misfortunes, and the strongest desire of serving us.

We took leave, with great regret, of M. de Badenbourg and his family. I shall retain, till my dying day, the impression his worthy character, his many amiable qualities, his noble turn
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of mind, and his spirit of independence, made upon me. He appeared to me like a sage devoting his life to the happiness of mankind, and spreading around him all the blessings in his power and the influence of his virtuous example.

Colonel Heslop had offered to conduct us to Demerary by land; but we preferred the shorter conveyance of the sea. Accordingly, we embarked on board a brig called the Flying Fish at eleven in the morning of the 9th of July, and at night moored at the mouth of the river Demerary.

We landed next day at that fine colony, which the English government is so assiduous to improve and render flourishing, and in which more activity prevails than in any other on this coast, on account of its frequent communications with the Caribbee Islands. M. Beaujon, civil governor in chief, received us in the most friendly manner, and all the inhabitants vied with each other in showing the interest they took in our miraculous escape. Colonel Heslop invited us to his house, and treated us with the utmost po-

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liteness. The colonel is a gentleman whose noble manners evince the elevation of his mind : I had long known him by reputation, having been present at the bloody scenes that passed at the retaking of Toulon, where the colonel, then aide-camp to General O'Hara, distinguished himself by a noble act of humanity. When the ships were burned which could not be made use of, the Themistocle, on board of which were 1600 reputed terrorists, catching fire, Colonel Heslop saved them at the peril of his life.

It was during our passage from Berbice to Demerary, that Willot and Aubry were attacked with a dangerous illness, which separated them from us. The next day they were delirious, and the physicians not only declared they could not possibly embark with us, but said they had but little hopes of their recovery. A few days after, Aubry, who could scarcely breathe, lay for dead, while Willot was apparently in the agonies of death. What a dreadful scene! what a melancholy separation. Of eight of the deported who had escaped in the canoe, only four, Pichegru,

Dessonville, la Rue, and myself, embarked on the 17th on board the English frigate the Crane, commanded by Captain Hello.

On the 20th we passed in sight of Trinidad and Tobago.

On the 22d we doubled the island of St. Vincent.

On the 24th we were off Martinico, where contrary winds prevented us from entering Fort Royal Bay. We therefore stood on for St. Christopher's, which was the general rendezvous for the Caribbee Island convoy, and where we moored on the 27th.

I had, some days before, so violent an attack of the yellow fever, that I was delirious before we got sight of Martinico; nor did I recover the use of my reason till the 22d of August, or about a month after. I am ignorant of every thing that passed around me during this long confinement, and found myself on board the Amiable frigate,

commanded by Capt. Grenville Lobb, without the least recollection of having been removed from on board the Crane. Pichegru and Dossonville were equally ill with myself, and we all three lay in the captain's cabin, but were not able to speak to each other till about the end of August. We all owed our lives to the courage and attentions of Captain Lobb, and never did any man make so great a sacrifice with so much ease and simplicity. He never left us for a moment, and, notwithstanding the general dread of this contagious disorder, more justly feared than the plague itself, slept in the same cabin with us, and performed the lowest offices for us. When, after our long delirium had ceased, we, for the first time, perceived this hero of humanity, we were scarcely able to express our admiration of this extraordinary effort of virtue; nor could we ever prevail with him to leave us, in order to attend to his own preservation, after having been the cause of ours.

From the 36th to the 50th degree of latitude we experienced a dreadful storm, in which four ships of the convoy perished, besides the

Etrusco, which went down, after having lost all her masts.

I shall omit the particulars of this tedious voyage which continued sixty-four days.

On the 20th of September we got sight of land, and entered the Channel, where contrary to our expectation we met with light breezes and a smooth sea. We now discovered the coast of England, and soon after that of France. This sight strongly affected and agitated me, and I felt depressed with melancholy: for my heart always inclined to serious reflections. In short, I could scarcely bear the idea that I could no longer call the land beyond that horizon my country.

On the 21st of September, which was the anniversary of our departure from Rochefort, we moored in Deal Roads.

Here Captain Lobb waited on Admiral Peyton

for instructions ; we were not, however, allowed to go on shore, but an account of our arrival was sent to the government.

On the 24th, the *Amiable* frigate, which had been much damaged during the storm, and which could no longer lie in the Road, was obliged to go round to Sheerness. We now, therefore, took leave of Captain Lobb, whose interest and recommendation had prepared us a good reception on board the Admiral's ship the *Over-Yssel*, to which we were removed, and of which the officers lavished on us all possible attention ; as if to convince us, the noble conduct of Captain Lobb did not arise merely from his personal excellencies, but was the natural attendant and general characteristic of the officers of the British Navy.

On the 27th, the government having given orders to bring us to London, we were put on board a cutter, the captain of which loaded us with attentions. General Pichegru, who was very

ill, was removed to London the same day, where we joined him the next.

We were conducted to the house of Mr. Wickham, secretary to the Duke of Portland in the department relative to foreigners, who received us with great politeness, and expressed the concern he felt at our misfortunes. He assured us we should find, under the protection of the English government, a safe asylum, and all those kind offices which humanity owes to the victims of unexampled barbarity.

In this first conversation, Mr. Wickham expressed those wishes for peace and the emancipation of our country which he often repeated in several subsequent interviews. He told me, the next day, in particular, that he was informed of the desire I had expressed to go as soon as possible to the Continent, and that I should be furnished with such means of putting this in practice as would secure me from all risk of being taken.

On the second of October, two days after our

arrival in London, having an appointment at Mr. Wickham's, we had no sooner given in our names, than a man, or rather the skeleton of a man, whom we had observed in the corner of the room, extended his arms towards us, and, rising up, exclaimed—" Ah! my friends, you are then " saved, and all my misfortunes are forgotten." He was scarcely able to advance towards us, and we gathered round him. " I am Tilly," said he. —" Tilly! Tilly!" we exclaimed, " our deliverer! and yet we knew him not! but you are " so much altered!" We continued some moments in each other's arms, overpowered with emotion and bathing his hands with our tears. " Alas!" cried he, " nor I neither. Had I not " heard your names, I should not have known you." We overwhelmed each other with questions, and he was very anxious to be informed of our adventures, and the fate of his worthy Berwick; after which, he satisfied our enquiries nearly in these words:

" On the 5th of June, said he, the news of your escape arrived at Cayenne, where the joy of the
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the inhabitants was universal, and so strongly expressed, that Jeannet, not daring to oppose the public opinion, said to those who spoke of it, " Why did not they all go ? "

" As yet I was suffered to go at large on my parole, about the town of Cayenne, for I was not at all suspected.

" On the 6th of June, the frigate, *la Décade*, arrived from France with 193 deported persons on board. Jeannet received his dispatches, and nothing transpired of their contents. It was only said, that several of the present deported persons, authors, journalists and priests, were on board, upon which a general consternation succeeded to the joy our flight had occasioned. About 9 in the evening, Jeannet sent me an invitation to take tea with him, saying he had some affairs of trade to talk of. As he had in my first audience appeared to blame the unjust aggressions of the Directory against the Americans, assuring me that it was with regret he executed such orders, and still more so his barbarous instruction

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relative to your detention, I now waited on him with confidence on this occasion. He treated me with still more politeness than before, and when we were alone, said, " You know the news from France, where tyranny is at its height. Here again are more of these unfortunate deported persons, sent me by the Directory. Scarcely have eight of the former escaped, than they are replaced by 193. I will no longer submit to be the jailor and executioner of my fellow-citizens, in order to support those five villains in impunity. I am determined to abandon the colony. I shall buy your brig, which I will restore to you at Philadelphia, if you will undertake to carry me there."

" I thanked Jeannet for his confidence, assured him of my attachment, and encouraged him in his virtuous resolution.

" I know," replied he, " that you are an honest man. I am acquainted with your character, and you must have perceived by my silence, how painful it is to me to be the instrument of crimes."

“ I know that it was you that facilitated the escape
“ of the deported from Sinamary, yet I never re-
“ proached you with that action. I think, how-
“ ever, you ought not to have led your pilot into
“ these dangers.”

“ I now hesitated no longer frankly to answer
this last overture, and not only confessed every
thing we had done at Sinamary, but took this
opportunity to inform Jeannet, that besides the
packets I had delivered you, there were others
on board my ship in a barrel, of which I men-
tioned the number.

“ I had scarcely finished these indiscreet and
fatal confessions, when Jeannet rose up in a fury,
threw down the table between us, called his
guard, ordered me to be seized and chained,
and swore that the next day he would have me
shot. In short I was conducted to the prison of
the fort.

“ Thus had I apparently sacrificed my life. But
Jeannet dared not to complete his crime ; whe-

ther through fear of the murmurs of the inhabitants, or of losing the money, it was said he had invested in America. I was now thrown into a dungeon with irons on my hands and feet, and was allowed no food but bread and water. In this horrid prison I passed the months of June and July, and I was even deprived of the consolation of having sacrificed myself usefully for your preservation; for I was assured you had been fallen in with and sunk by a privateer from Cayenne.

“In the night of the 1st of August I was taken from my prison, though without being liberated from my irons, and carried on board the frigate *la Décade*, which was returning to France. During the voyage I still remained in my irons, and was put into the boatswain's store-room. I now perceived that Jeannet, desirous of averting from himself the rage of the Directory, had preserved me merely to deliver me up to them, and that I was destined to glut their vengeance. The captain of *la Décade* had orders to treat me

as you had been treated ; and I had no other food but bread and water.

“ A high fever had almost destroyed me, and I was at the point of death, when, on the 3d of September, the frigate fell in with Commodore Pierrepont, who commanded a frigate of the same force, and attacked and took us. This worthy officer immediately liberated me, and conveyed me to Portsmouth, where I obtained permission to come to London. I am determined, notwithstanding the condition in which you see me, to return to my family, who believe I am lost ; and now I have seen you, I have nothing else to wish for.”

Captain Tilly had already prepared for sailing, and was come to take leave of Mr. Wickham. He passed three days with us ; and we had the satisfaction of perceiving, that the certainty of our safety, that sweet recompence for all his generous sacrifices, contributed to the re-establishment of his health.

It is unnecessary to add, that the English government have anticipated the countrymen of Tilly, in rewarding this noble action by public testimonies of esteem and consideration, and by granting him all the assistance and kind offices he stood in need of.

On us they have bestowed the most delicate attentions and the strongest proofs of kindness: nor was it possible to do this in a more amiable and pleasing manner. Of these good offices I availed myself, till my health was sufficiently re-established to cross the sea.

On the evening of the 19th of October, I took a final leave of my companions in misfortunes, and, on the 21st, embarked at Yarmouth for Hamburg, where I arrived on the 29th.

Here ends my narrative. It is not for me to instruct mankind in the science of politics, but had I sufficient talents for that purpose, I would devote them to the reconciliation of the various parties, who are interested in the restoration of

order, of morality and of public faith. By this common interest, this general sentiment, I would endeavour to appease the hatred of factions, and stop the progress of civil dissensions. Innumerable reasons offer in support of this great cause of benevolence. May those render it victorious who have more right to influence mankind. I am but a soldier, and can only offer to my country my arm and my blood : both of which shall be devoted, till my dying day, to the preservation of her independence, and the rights of my fellow-citizens.

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